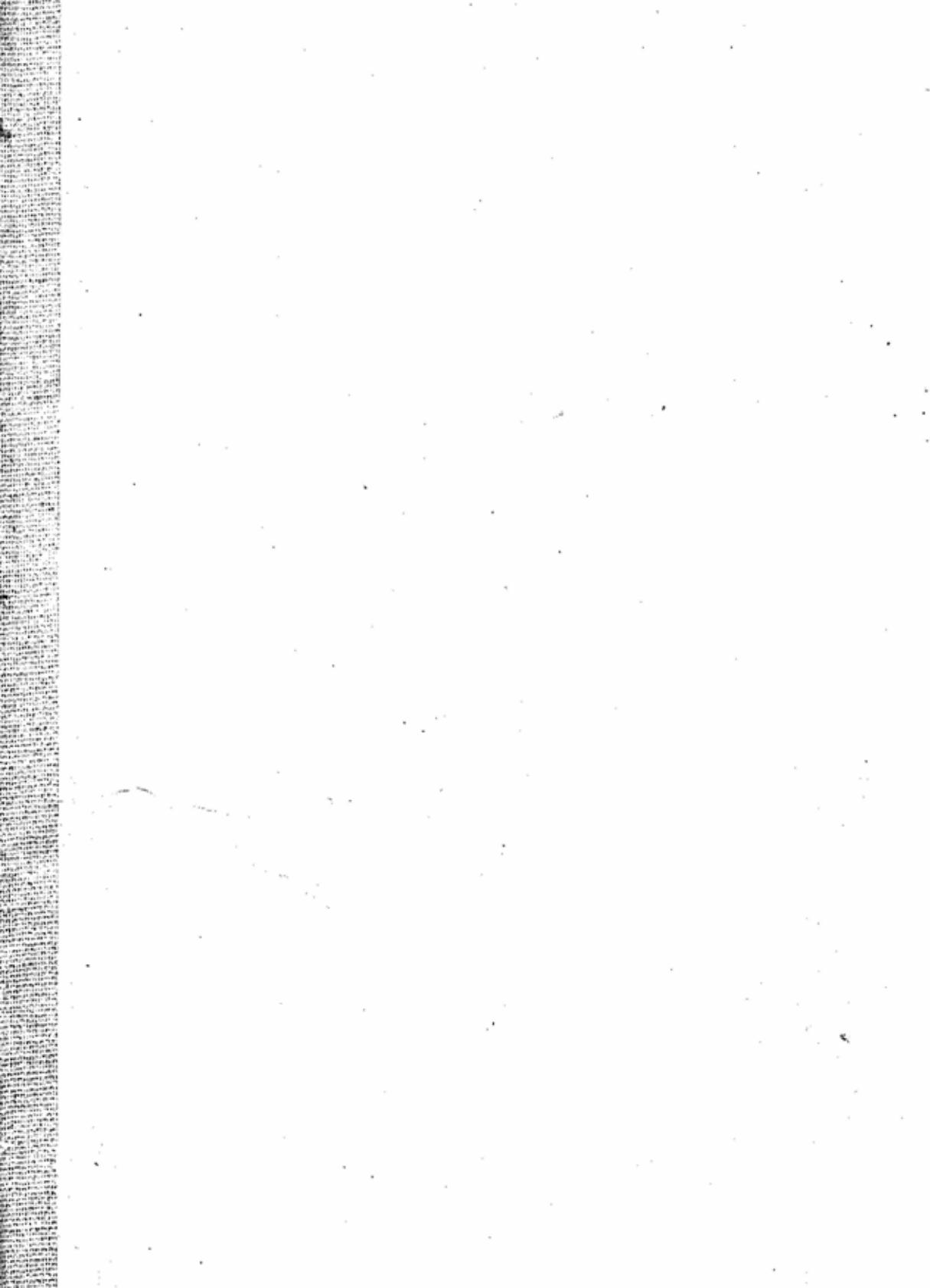


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THE BRITISH  
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VOLUME XXXIII

1968-9



# THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY

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50638

VOLUME XXXIII

1968-9

069.05  
B.M.Q.

PUBLISHED BY  
THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM  
LONDON  
1969

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD  
BY VIVIAN RIDLER  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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## PREFACE

ERIC GEORGE MILLAR died on 13 January 1966; this was a sad day for all who valued his contributions to his own chosen field of manuscript studies and more especially for those who were, in addition, privileged to count him as a personal friend. Those of us who were given the opportunity of being shown his collections at his studio flat in Holland Park are not likely to forget the experience of hearing him discourse lovingly about the treasured manuscripts in his collection as they were placed before one. On such an occasion all his knowledge and enthusiasm were given full play, and one was astonished and sometimes slightly bewildered by his memory of all the details relating to them—not only of where they were written or illuminated, but also where and when they were acquired, what they cost not only himself but also their previous owners, and who bound them. To their binding Millar gave the closest attention, for many years employing the W. H. Smith bindery for this purpose. And there are in the Museum's own collections, too, many examples of specially designed bindings done under his aegis when he was responsible for the binding of the Department's manuscripts.

Hardly less delightful were one's meetings with him whether for lunch or at tea in his favourite haunt, the Athenaeum, of which he had been a member since 1943. Here he relaxed and regaled one with talk about his trout fishing on the Test, or his exploits as gardener at The Summer House, Dinton, or his past experiences at the Museum, or reminiscences of such people (among others) as M. R. James and Sir Sydney Cockerell. Of Cockerell he always spoke in the warmest terms: in fact he went so far as to say that it was to Cockerell's generosity in giving him (just before he joined the Museum in 1912) the run of the Fitzwilliam's collections and to Cockerell's guidance while there that he owed the basis of his own knowledge of manuscript illumination.

What impressed one at once on meeting him was his tremendous vitality and energy, which of course had made possible his production in the twenties of his two great and indispensable catalogues of English illuminated manuscripts (1926, 1928), his book on the Lindisfarne Gospels (1923), and the first of his two-volume catalogue of the Chester Beatty Manuscripts (1927), an enormous amount of work to accomplish in one decade.

If in his last years he tended as a raconteur to repeat himself no one minded as the stories were repeated each time with the same compulsive gusto. Professor Wormald has spoken of his friendship with the Mackails and with Thackeray's daughter Lady Ritchie. He has also noted certain limitations in Millar's artistic

sympathies; these we accepted as part of the man's make-up, as the reverse of his tenaciously held likings. No amount of talk would persuade him to look more favourably on the work of such modern painters as (say) Picasso; Sir George Sitwell is reported to have said once after a first glance on a visit to an art exhibition: 'Ah, nothing for me here', and walked out; one felt that Eric Millar's reaction to a very great deal of modern art would have been the same.

At the Museum both before and during his too-brief Keepership he was never too busy to see one and the present writer can never forget the warmth with which he was received when, as a total stranger, he came to the Museum armed only with a letter of introduction from one of Millar's friends to make inquiries about a post in the Manuscripts Department. It was this personal warmth combined with a readiness to place his knowledge at the inquirer's disposal that made him an excellent Superintendent of the Manuscripts Students Room, one of the Department's most testing and exacting posts, for it requires not only a knowledge of the collections but a firmness accompanied by tact which will effectually but unobtrusively control without offending the students of all kinds that frequent the room. It is on the Superintendent and his Deputy that the establishment of the friendly atmosphere of the room depends. For this Millar was admirable, for he possessed all these qualities besides an eagle eye for delinquents and a firm way of dealing with them.

All these sides of Eric Millar's character should not pass unrecorded for such many-sided, vital, and generous men are at all times rare. In the following pages Professor Wormald and members of the Museum staff have attempted to express the Museum's appreciation of Millar's generous bequest in a number of contributions which, besides providing a complete record of its contents, have also selected for more extended discussion certain special objects within it. It is also hoped that this book will provide, for those who visit the Exhibition to be held from 12 July to 29 September in the Print Room of a selection of items from the bequest, a permanent memento of Millar.

C. E. WRIGHT

*Deputy Keeper of Manuscripts*





II. ERIC GEORGE MILLAR (1887-1966)

Keeper of Manuscripts 1944-7

## ERIC GEORGE MILLAR

WHEN the history of the British Museum is written again, a very interesting chapter will be about the members of the staff who have been both collectors and benefactors of it. Such names as Franks and Campbell Dodgson come to mind. A paragraph too might be devoted to one who, though a Keeper of Manuscripts and a collector, was not a benefactor. Francis Douce was Keeper of Manuscripts in the first decade of the nineteenth century, but he quarrelled with the Trustees of the time and his marvellous collection is now one of the glories of Oxford. Both Franks and Dodgson were collectors before their time; setting the fashion for certain categories of objects in advance of others, though neither can be called cranks in their predilections. Eric Millar, to whom this number of *The British Museum Quarterly* (offprinted in book form) is dedicated, deserves to stand beside his two great colleagues and it is informative to see how his collections reflect his interests and scholarship.

In speaking of book collecting a recent writer has said: 'there are two sides to it, one aesthetic, the other intellectual'. This cannot be confined to books alone, and of course the two are often combined. Douce was interested in both books and drawings as providing information about the manners and customs of the past. Franks, who was an omnivorous collector, was interested equally in prehistory and Meissen porcelain. The most notable collectors have often been those who brought their acquisitions together because they were curious about their historical significance yet aware of their aesthetic qualities; sometimes one, sometimes the other, predominating. Millar was certainly attracted to both. Among his manuscripts were such splendid things as the York Psalter (list no. 28) and La Somme le Roy (list no. 33), but he was equally attracted by books containing evidence for their provenance or their history. Thus he was particularly proud to be the owner of the manuscript containing the colophon: 'Explicit Damascenus. Me scripsit Johannes dictus Campions et Arnulphus de camphaing' followed by a note written in blue: 'et Gossuins de lecaucie l'enlumina' (list no. 40). Sir Sydney Cockerell, who owned it before Millar, wrote of it: 'This may be the only book of this period (13th century) in which the names of two scribes and the illuminator are recorded' (*Book Handbook*, vi (1948), pp. 326-8).

In his collecting of manuscripts Millar was influenced by his friendship with two eminent scholars in the field; Montague Rhodes James and Sir Sydney Cockerell. James by his great experience in cataloguing manuscripts, particularly those in the Cambridge College libraries and at Lambeth Palace, had become

much concerned with the history of medieval libraries as well as with the texts that they contained. His interest in this found expression in such works as *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (1903) and *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts* (1919). James never collected manuscripts, but Cockerell had done so from the end of the last century. Like James, Cockerell was much occupied with the history of his books and recorded it in each volume. Both were expert in palaeography as well as in illuminated manuscripts.

Millar's collection in some ways resembled Cockerell's in that both contained a few very fine illuminated books yet every volume had something about it of particular interest. Neither Cockerell nor Millar were rich men and so did not compete with the buyers of splendidly illuminated items. In connection with this there is an important factor in the history of the formation of both collections. Until 1939 the prices of non-illuminated manuscripts were often not high and the rich collectors had not yet turned their attention to such fine bibliographical points as provenance. The list of Millar's medieval manuscripts shows a medieval ownership for nearly a third, some of special interest. Two cases may be mentioned. First is a St. Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum* from Westminster Abbey with the press-mark in three places (list no. 24). Secondly there is a copy of the Homilies of St. Gregory with a magnificent inscription recording the gift of the book by the Cistercian Abbey of Caerleon in Monmouthshire to a sister Abbey of Hailes in Gloucestershire on the occasion of its foundation in 1249 (list no. 34). There are many others with special points about them. One particularly fascinating book is the Psalter in Italian, now in the Glazier collection deposited in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (list no. 20). It was written in the second half of the fifteenth century and its main feature is a series of illuminated initials whose main inspiration was the reinterpretation of much earlier ornamental motives.

It may equally have been Cockerell's example which led Millar to collect examples of modern calligraphy and illumination. Florence Kingsford (afterwards Kate Cockerell) was the best by far of modern illuminators, having an originality greater even than William Morris himself. Millar did not unfortunately have an example, but Flecker's 'Golden Journey to Samarkand', written by Madelyn Walker and decorated by Lady Cockerell's sister, Joan Kingsford (Add. MS. 54255), is a beautiful manuscript by any standard. Of the contemporary scribes besides other work of Madelyn Walker there are specimens of Graily Hewitt (Add. MS. 54257) and Edward Johnston (Add. MS. 54250).

From an early date Millar was interested in autographs and at one time owned an important series of Dickens letters which are now in the Brotherton Library in the University of Leeds. He would tell how in his boyhood he had proudly bought a letter of W. M. Thackeray. This was naturally shown to

a great family friend of whom Eric always spoke with veneration and affection. The friend was Thackeray's daughter, Lady Ritchie, who presented him with a letter of her father remarking that as she knew how much they were copied, would like him to have a real one.

As is well known Millar also collected drawings and water-colours and at one time had a collection of portrait miniatures of the eighteenth century. The most important of this side of his bequest is the large number of portraits by John Downman. He had brought these together over many years and they included some of the artist's sketch-books. Of the other water-colours and drawings, he owned mainly the works of artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He was always interested in the Pre-Raphaelites and by his friendship with the Mackail family he was brought within the circle of Burne-Jones, for Mrs. Mackail was the daughter of the artist. He was, however, somewhat suspicious of the more precious aspects of the admirers of the Pre-Raphaelites and much opposed to all kinds of abstract art. With the exception of Albert Goodwin most of the artists whom he most admired were best known for their work as illustrators of books. He knew a number of them personally. Edmund Dulac he had met with Laurence Binyon in the days of the Vienna Café near the Museum where a number of literary men as well as artists met for lunch in the years before 1914. Millar liked Dulac's Persian period but was not pleased when he turned to a more contemporary idiom. Arthur Rackham interested him too and he owned several good examples of the Peter Pan manner. Of the black-and-white artists he seems to have collected mainly the work of those who appeared in *Punch* such as Du Maurier and Sir Bernard Partridge. He was an old friend of both Sir Bernard and his wife. This connection with the black-and-white artists arose because his uncle, Anstey Guthrie, the author of *Vice Versa*, had contributed much to *Punch* and these artists had illustrated some of his articles, and knew him well.

It is not within the scope of this article to discuss Millar's contribution to scholarship in detail, but his collections were very much bound up with this side of his life, particularly the manuscripts.

Having been educated at Charterhouse and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he entered the Department of Manuscripts in 1912. Sir George Warner had just retired from the Keepership, but there were remarkable scholars as colleagues; such as J. P. Gilson, H. I. Bell, Robin Flower, and Herbert Milne. Millar was already interested in illuminated manuscripts, but it was not until after 1918 that his main work began to take shape and it was in the twenties that the two great books on English Illuminated Manuscripts, the monograph on the Lindisfarne Gospels, and the two volumes of the catalogue of Sir Chester Beatty's Western Manuscripts were written. All show that acute observation which is so marked in his work. He was always an economical writer and his

cataloguing never prolix. Yet everything was there; always the result of most minute and careful research. To this precision of attack he added a most remarkable eye and a notable visual memory. The result was that his attributions can rarely be questioned. It was a great disappointment to him when the Beatty Catalogue was abandoned, but in the thirties he produced his monograph on the Luttrell Psalter as well as the first two books that he edited for the Roxburghe Club. Like the works already mentioned, these works are marked by the most careful scholarship and upheld nobly the high standards already established by G. F. Warner and M. R. James in their work for the Club. Between 1936 and his death Millar edited no less than six monographs for the Club and its members.

Thus there can be little doubt that Millar's scholarship enhanced his collections, but it is equally true that his collecting enhanced and sharpened his scholarship. In both he served his beloved Museum well.

F. WORMALD



*Sillince,  
W. A. Sillince  
2 May 53*

Drawing by W. A. Sillince in Eric Millar's Autograph-book.  
Add. MS. 54318, fol. 17.

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- 'Casting the Runes', *ibid.*, p. 81.
- 'The M. R. James Memorial MS.', *ibid.*, pp. 175-7.
- 'Sale of Sir William le Neve's library', *ibid.*, p. 177.
- 'Leaves from an illuminated manuscript of Frontinus', xii (1938), pp. 8-9.
- 'The de László sitter's books', *ibid.*, p. 45.

### III. REVIEWS

'The New Palaeographical Society', in *The Library*, 3rd series, vi (1915), pp. 97-114.

'The work of Matthew Paris': *La Estoire de Seint Aedwarde le rei*, by M. R. James, in *The Library*, 4th series, i (1920-1), pp. 187-92.

*Bibliotheca Pepysiana*, by M. R. James, in *The Library*, 4th series, iv (1923-4), pp. 336-9.

*Les joyaux de l'enluminure à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*, by H. Martin, in *The Library*, 4th series, ix (1928-9), pp. 331-4.

*The miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine*, by F. Wormald, in *The Library*, 5th series, ix (1954), pp. 69-72.

*The Canterbury School of Illumination*, by C. R. Dodwell, in *The Antiquaries Journal*, xxxv (1955), p. 244.

*The Fifteenth-Century Book*, by C. F. Bühlér, in *The Antiquaries Journal*, xli (1961), p. 249.

### LIST OF THE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS OWNED BY ERIC MILLAR

(*The names of booksellers are preceded by an asterisk*)

#### I. MANUSCRIPTS OF WHICH THE DATE OF ACQUISITION IS KNOWN

1. Carthusian Hymnal; Germany, early fifteenth century; 'My first manuscript' (see fol. i).  
Purchased from the 'Polyglot Library', 6 Feb. 1911, for £1. 6s.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Additional MS. 54242).
2. Works of John Gerson and others; Germany, c. 1425-45; from the Cologne Charterhouse.  
Purchased from \*Bertram Dobell, 13 Dec. 1911, for £6. 6s.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54243).
3. Lectionary (fragmentary); France, thirteenth century.  
Purchased at Beauvais, 6 Sept. 1913.  
Given to B. S. Cron (no. 13 in his *Handlist of Western Manuscripts*, privately printed, 1965) and sold by him to \*A. G. Thomas, 10 Oct. 1966 (Thomas's catalogue no. 19, item 16).

4. Peter Lombard, *Sentences*; Spain, mid thirteenth century.  
Obtained by exchange with Walter Withall, 14 Jan. 1914.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54236).
5. Judges, Ruth, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs; England  
(Reading Abbey), late twelfth century.  
Purchased from \*J. and J. Leighton, 2 Mar. 1916, for £12.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54230).
6. Bible; England, mid thirteenth century; from the Franciscan Friary at  
Llanfaes.  
Purchased from \*Francis Edwards, 26 Jan. 1920, for £35.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54232).
7. Dionysius, *Hierarchia*; England, c. 1260–70; from Waltham Abbey.  
Purchased from \*Francis Edwards, 24 Mar. 1920, for £41.  
Bequeathed to Francis Wormald.
8. Song of Songs; France (Bonnecombe Abbey), twelfth century.  
Purchased from \*Neville and George, 17 Nov. 1920, for £8. 8s.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 16 May 1955 (lot 113), for £65 to \*Maggs Bros.
9. Book of Hours, illuminated by Maître François; France, c. 1470.  
Purchased from \*Francis Edwards, 22 Nov. 1920, for £130.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 16 May 1955 (lot 116), for £1,200 to \*Bernard  
Quaritch and offered for sale in \*Quaritch's catalogue 833 (1962),  
item 6, at £2,000; now MS. IV. 270 in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.
10. St. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de Poenitentia*; England, late thirteenth  
century.  
Purchased from \*P. J. and A. E. Dobell, 8 July 1921, for £25.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54233).
11. St. Jerome, Commentaries on Jeremiah and Ezekiel; England (Bury St.  
Edmunds Abbey), twelfth century.  
Purchased from \*Bernard Quaritch, 21 Sept. 1921, for £160.  
Sold to the British Museum, 12 June 1965 (Egerton MS. 3776).
12. Bible (Proverbs to Apocalypse); England, thirteenth century.  
Obtained by exchange with R. A. Coates, 17 Nov. 1922.  
Sold to \*Bernard Quaritch, 1961; purchased from them by B. S. Cron,  
4 Dec. 1961 (no. 11 in his *Handlist*).
13. Rule of St. Benedict; Italy (? Bologna), early fourteenth century; from  
Camaldoli.  
Purchased from \*L. Solomons, 19 Aug. 1925.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54241).

14. Bible; France (? Paris), second half of thirteenth century; from Bonnefoy Charterhouse.  
Purchased from \*Davis and Orioli, 30 Sept. 1925, for £50.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54235).

15. Odo of Morimond, Commentary on the Old Testament; France, eleventh-twelfth century; from Lyre Abbey, diocese of Evreux.  
Given by Sir A. Chester Beatty, 1 July 1926.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 11 Dec. 1961 (lot 134), to \*Maggs Bros. for £750;  
now MS. IV. 191 in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

16. Diurnal; Portugal (Abbey of Lorvão), 1259–60.  
Purchased from \*L. Solomons, 15 Dec. 1926.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54237).

17. Antiphonal (fragments); Low Countries, thirteenth–fourteenth century  
(further fragments are in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm).  
Purchased from \*Davis and Orioli in 1927 for £10.  
Subsequently acquired by Mark Lansburgh (no. ix in the *Illustrated Check List of Manuscript Leaves* in his collection, Santa Barbara, 1962).

18. Pontifical (fragmentary); France, mid fourteenth century.  
Purchased from \*L. Solomons, 4 Feb. 1928, for £2. 10s.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54238).

19. Statuta Angliae; fourteenth century.  
Purchased at Sotheby's, 19th Dec. 1928 (lot 569), through \*Bernard Quaritch, for £32.  
Offered for sale by \*Quaritch in 1962 (catalogue 833, no. 17) for £300.

20. Psalter; Italy, 20 Jan. 1461.  
Purchased from \*Lathrop C. Harper in 1928.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 15 June 1959 (lot 189), for £1,200; now Glazier MS. 56 in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

21. Chartulary of the Vicars Choral of Exeter Cathedral; England, third quarter of thirteenth century.  
Purchased from Robert Rawley, 1932, for £2. 2s.  
Given to the British Museum, 12 June 1965 (Add. MS. 52779).

22. Bible; England (Waltham Abbey), c. 1200.  
Purchased from \*Bernard Quaritch, 15 Mar. 1933, for £210.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 18 June 1962 (lot 112), to \*Francis Edwards for £1,500; resold at Sotheby's as 'the property of the late H. C. Drayton', 12 Dec. 1967 (lot 52), to \*C. Traylen for £3,000.

23. St. Trond Lectionary; Low Countries, twelfth century (formerly Phillips MS. 3535 and Chester Beatty MS. 23).  
Purchased from \*Bernard Quaritch, 1934.  
Sold to Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (now MS. 883 there), through \*Quaritch, 24 Jan. 1957.

24. St. Augustine, *De Consensu Euangelistarum*; England (Westminster Abbey), late twelfth century.  
Purchased from \*Bernard Quaritch, 2 Mar. 1937, for £50.  
Sold to the British Museum, 12 June 1965 (Egerton MS. 3775).

25. Sapiential Books; France, second quarter of thirteenth century.  
Purchased from \*James Rimell & Son, 5 Feb. 1938, for £80.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54234).

26. Statuta Angliae; England, fourteenth century.  
Purchased from \*Myers & Co. (catalogue 320, no. 190), 21 Feb. 1938, for £22. 10s.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 23 Apr. 1956 (lot 66), to H. F. Smith for £130.

27. Paraldus, *Summa de Vitiis*; England, thirteenth century.  
Purchased from \*Bernard Halliday, 11 Nov. 1938, for £10. 10s.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 16 May 1955 (lot 114), to \*A. G. Thomas for £36; purchased from \*Thomas by B. S. Cron, 17 Oct. 1955, and sold by him to \*Foyle's, 9 Jan. 1957.

28. York Psalter; England, c. 1250–60.  
Purchased from \*William H. Robinson's, 16 Jan. 1945, for £4,500.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54179).

29. Bible, preceded by a Cistercian Missal; France, thirteenth century.  
Purchased from \*Bernard Quaritch, 4 Dec. 1945, for £200.  
Bequeathed to Francis Wormald.

30. Horace, *Opera*; Italy (Florence), c. 1480; formerly in the C. S. Ascherson collection.  
Acquired in 1945.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 9 Dec. 1963 (lot 124), for £2,000.

31. Psalter; England, third quarter of twelfth century; from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.  
Purchased from the executors of C. H. St. J. Hornby, Aug. 1946, for £100.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54229).

32. Pentateuch; England, mid thirteenth century; from the Franciscans at Lincoln.

Purchased from the executors of C. H. St. J. Hornby, Aug. 1946, for £100.

Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54231).

33. La Somme le Roy, illuminated by Maître Honoré; France (Paris), end of thirteenth century.  
Purchased from Lieut.-Col. D. E. Prideaux-Brune, 19 Mar. 1947, for £3,000.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54180).

34. St. Gregory the Great, Homilies; England, twelfth century; given by Carleon Abbey to Hailes Abbey in 1248 (formerly Phillipps MS. 12357).  
Purchased from \*W. H. Robinson's, 15 Nov. 1947, together with the next item at a special price of £1,000 for the two.  
Sold to the British Museum, 12 Nov. 1955 (Add. MS. 48984).

35. St. Gregory the Great, Homilies; France (Abbey of Royaumont), first half of thirteenth century (formerly Phillipps MS. 1344).  
Purchased from \*W. H. Robinson's, 15 Nov. 1947, together with the previous item at a special price of £1,000 for the two.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 18 June 1962 (lot 113), to \*Bernard Quaritch for £500; purchased from them, 4 July 1962, by B. S. Cron (no. 9 in his *Handlist*).

36. Book of Hours, illuminated in the atelier of the Maître de Boucicaut; France, early fifteenth century.  
Purchased from \*Bernard Quaritch, 12 July 1948, for £2,200, immediately after they had bought it at the Landau sale (lot 59) at Sotheby's that day for £2,000.  
Sold to H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence.

37. Diogenes Laertius, extracts in Italian from the Lives of the Philosophers; Italy, late fifteenth century.  
Purchased from \*Bernard Quaritch, 29 June 1951, for £25.  
Sold to B. S. Cron (no. 26 in his *Handlist*), 16 Mar. 1964.

38. Bible; France, thirteenth century.  
Purchased at Christie's, 24 Mar. 1953 (lot 523), through \*Bernard Quaritch for £270.  
Bequeathed to B. S. Cron.

39. St. Antoninus, 'Interrogatorio'; Italy (? Florence), third quarter of fifteenth century.  
Bequeathed by Graily Hewitt and received from his executor 31 Mar. 1953.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54245).

40. Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigrammata*, etc.; France, c. 1260-70.  
Given by Sir Sydney Cockerell, 21 Jan. 1957.  
Bequeathed to B. S. Cron.

41. York Bible; England, c. 1250-60.  
Purchased from \*Bernard Quaritch, 25 Jan. 1957.  
Sold to the British Museum, 12 June 1965 (Add. MS. 52778).

II. MANUSCRIPTS OF WHICH THE DATE OF  
ACQUISITION IS NOT KNOWN

42. Antiphonal (fragmentary); probably north France, thirteenth century.  
Given to B. S. Cron (no. 12 in his *Handlist*) and sold by him to \*A. G. Thomas, 10 Oct. 1966.

43. St. Augustine, *Enarratio in Ps. xxxv* (part of a leaf only); probably France, ninth century.  
Given by Wilfred Merton.  
Given to B. S. Cron in 1957 (no. 1 in his *Handlist*).

44. Bible; France, thirteenth century.  
Purchased from \*Bernard Quaritch for £60.

45. Bible; France, thirteenth century; from 'Bethlehem' Priory, Herent, Louvain.  
Given by Sir A. Chester Beatty.

46. Bible; Italy, thirteenth century.  
Given by Sir A. Chester Beatty.

47. Biblical Concordance; England, first half of thirteenth century; from Byland Abbey.  
Given to H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence.

48. Breviary (imperfect); Italy, fifteenth century.  
Given by Sir A. Chester Beatty.

49. Cicero, *De Oratore* (one leaf only); Italy (Florence), A.D. 1453 (the majority of the manuscript belongs to B. S. Cron, [no. 19 in his *Handlist*] ).  
(?) Given by C. H. St. John Hornby.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54244).

50. Book of Hours, illuminated in the atelier of Herman Scheerre; England, early fifteenth century.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 15 June 1959 (lot 190), for £550; now in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

51. Book of Hours; Italy, fifteenth century.  
Given by Lady Chester Beatty.

52. Book of Hours; Italy (Florence), late fifteenth century.  
Purchased from \*James Tregaskis & Son for £145.

53. Legenda Aurea; Germany, c. 1300.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54239).

54. Noted Missal (fragmentary); France, c. 1300.  
Given to Francis Wormald in (?) 1929.

55. Miniature of the Nativity; Italy (? Rome), mid sixteenth century.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54246).

56. Ovid, Metamorphoses, written by Lorenzo di Antonio for Lorenzo Ridolfi;  
Italy (Florence), A.D. 1457 (formerly Yates Thompson MS. 48).  
Given by Sir A. Chester Beatty.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 23 Mar. 1956 (lot 68), for £440.

57. Petrus Comestor, Sermones (fragmentary); probably France, c. 1200.  
Given to B. S. Cron (no. 8 in his *Handlist*) and sold by him to \*A. G. Thomas, 10 Oct. 1966; purchased from \*Thomas (item 12 in his catalogue 18) by Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, U.S.A.

58. Pseudo-Phalaris, Epistolae; Italy (? Genoa), c. 1450-60.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 16 May 1955 (lot 115), to \*C. A. Stonehill for £170.

59. Polybius, Historia, in Perotti's translation; Italy (Florence), c. 1470,  
(formerly Yates Thompson MS. LXXXVII and subsequently lot 62  
in the Chester Beatty sale at Sotheby's, 9 May 1933, when it was sold  
to \*Bernard Quaritch for C. S. Ascherson, for £195).  
Owned in 1946.  
Offered for sale by \*Davis and Orioli in 1954 (catalogue 150, item 1) at £750.

60. Prayers; Germany, thirteenth century.  
Sold to \*Bernard Quaritch in 1961, from whom it was purchased by B. S. Cron, 26 Feb. 1963 (no. 14 in his *Handlist*).

61. Psalter; England, c. 1300.  
Purchased by Francis Wormald, July 1954.

62. Psalter (imperfect); Italy (Naples), fifteenth century.  
Sold.

63. Sapiential Books; north France, first half of thirteenth century; acquired in 1458 by Royaumont Abbey.  
Purchased from \*Davis and Orioli for £20.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 18 June 1962 (lot 114), to \*Bernard Quaritch for £520 and offered for sale in \*Quaritch's catalogue 833 (1962), item 2, at £800; now MS. IV. 214 in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

64. Pseudo-Seneca, *Epistolae*, etc.; France, twelfth century; formerly in the C. S. Ascherson collection.  
In 1962 had passed to T. E. Marston, Yale University Library, who had purchased it from \*C. A. Stonehill in 1954.

65. Sermons; Germany, early fourteenth century.  
Bequeathed to the British Museum (Add. MS. 54240).

66. Suetonius, *Life of Augustus* (fragment); Italy, fifteenth century.  
Given to Miss Dorothy Stevens.

67. Terence, Comedies; Italy (Florence), second half of fifteenth century.  
Given by Sir A. Chester Beatty.  
Sold at Sotheby's, 23 Apr. 1956 (lot 67), to \*Rosenthal for £380.

Eric Millar left no complete list of the manuscripts that had passed through his hands. The details above have been drawn from a number of sources, in particular various notes and papers of Dr. Millar's and information kindly supplied by friends of his. We take this opportunity to thank the following people for their help: Lieut.-Col. P. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Mr. B. S. Cron, Monsieur G. Dogaer, Mr. Mark Lansburgh, Mr. A. G. Thomas, Professor F. Wormald, and Monsieur M. Wittek.

D. H. TURNER

## THE ERIC MILLAR BEQUEST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

DURING his lifetime the generosity of its sometime Keeper resulted in the acquisition by the Department of Manuscripts of seventeen items<sup>1</sup> and the opportunity was also afforded of purchasing four others from his collection.<sup>2</sup> The indebtedness of the Museum to Eric Millar which resulted has now been completely submerged in that caused by a legacy through the Friends of the National Libraries, of all save five<sup>3</sup> of the manuscripts in his possession at the time of his death. Together with certain letters and papers which have similarly passed to the Museum these make up a bequest of 179 items. First and foremost are two famous illuminated manuscripts: *La Somme le Roy* and the *York Psalter*, both of which were bequeathed in memory of Eric Millar's mother, Mrs. E. M. Millar. In the same class as these as regards date are eighteen other manuscripts from the medieval and renaissance periods, together with eighty-two charters. An antithesis to them is provided by eight specimens of modern calligraphy and illumination, between which and the earlier material three examples of modern imitation of medieval illumination

form a link. A separate category of literary manuscripts is composed almost entirely by manuscripts and papers of T. A. Guthrie, Eric Millar's uncle, who was well known as a humorous writer under the pseudonym of 'F. Anstey'. These make up an archive of fifty-five volumes and lead us on to an actual autograph collection. Finally, the concluding section of the bequest centres on Millar's letters from that doyen of English students of manuscripts, M. R. James, and includes various letters and papers relating to Eric Millar himself as a scholar and collector.

Little space need be given here to *La Somme le Roy* or the York Psalter, since both have been fully described and published by their former owner and discoverer. In connection with the acquisition for the nation of the former, which constitutes the finest jewel of French painting of its time, a special study of its artist, Maître Honoré, appears elsewhere in this volume. We are also including studies on themes provided by the imitations of medieval illumination, the modern calligraphy and illumination, and the Anstey material. The present article gives a complete list of the bequest and will devote particular attention to the 'other' medieval and Renaissance material, only one item (no. IX) of which has been properly published previously.

## I. THE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS

Additional MS. 54179. Millar Bequest I (Edith Mary Millar Memorial MS.)  
**YORK PSALTER:** Psalter, in *Latin*, written and illuminated probably at York,  
c. 1250–60. Plates I and III.

Bequeathed to the English College at Lisbon by José Maria de Mello, Bishop of Algarve (d. 1820); sold at Messrs. Sotheby's, 17 November 1943 (lot 440), as 'the property of an ecclesiastical institution', namely the College, to Messrs. W. H. Robinson Ltd., for £2,100; purchased from them by Millar, 16 January 1945, for £4,500.<sup>4</sup>

Published by Millar in *A Thirteenth Century York Psalter*, Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1952; see also P. Brieger, *English Art: 1216–1307*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 179, 180, pl. 68b; M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 1965, pp. 107, 108; and D. H. Turner, 'From the Library of Eric George Millar', *British Museum Quarterly*, xxx (1966), pp. 85–7.

Add. MS. 54180. Millar Bequest II (Edith Mary Millar Memorial MS.)  
**LA SOMME LE ROY**, in *French*, executed at the end of the thirteenth century, with illumination by the Parisian miniaturist, Honoré. The manuscript contains eleven full-page illustrations, two more being in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Plates IV and V.

In the possession of the Prideaux-Brun family of Cornwall at least since 1720; purchased by Millar from Lieut.-Col. D. E. Prideaux-Brun, 19 May 1947, for £3,000.<sup>5</sup>

Published by Millar in *An Illuminated Manuscript of La Somme le Roy*, Roxburgh Club, Oxford, 1953, and *The Parisian Miniaturist Honoré*, 1959.

Add. MS. 54229. Millar Bequest III. PSALTER, with the commentary of Peter Lombard, in Latin, executed in England in the third quarter of the twelfth century. Vellum and paper; iii+211 fols. 365×260 mm. Red and blue initials, ornamented with pen-work; two decorated initials (fol. 58b, 166b); one historiated initial (fol. 3). Modern white pigskin binding by Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son. Plate vi.

On fol. 211b is the information 'Psalterium d. Radulphi glosatum d. ij. gradu. i. Christopheri Materas' in a hand of the end of the fifteenth century. It has not been possible to identify Christopher Materas, but the press-mark will be familiar as that employed at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, no less than some seventy-five books from which are already in the Museum.<sup>6</sup> In fact the present manuscript is item 71 in the catalogue of the St. Augustine's library, dating from between 1491 and 1497, which was printed by M. R. James from MS. D. 1. 19 at Trinity College, Dublin.<sup>7</sup> It is one of twenty-one books in this catalogue which owed their being at St. Augustine's to a Radulphus, who in two cases is further described as 'abbot'. Presumably only one donor is in question and the only superior of St. Augustine's with the name Ralph was Abbot de Burne, who ruled from 1310 to 1334. Unfortunately Thorne's Chronicle says nothing about any books in connection with Abbot Ralph or with any other Ralph. The addition of a second name in the genitive to the press-mark on fol. 211b suggests that the Psalter did not pass directly from Radulphus into the monastic library and that Materas was an intermediate owner, though presumably a monk of St. Augustine's. The fact that the book probably does not have any association with that monastery before the fourteenth century prevents any *prima facie* assumption that it was written there. The script indeed provides indications for date rather than provenance. Thus, the appearance of tailed 'e' to represent the diphthong 'æ', of a wavy or a cup-shaped stroke rather than a horizontal one to denote abbreviations and of lozenge-shaped tops to minims, all these features suggest the third quarter of the twelfth century—perhaps c. 1160. At this time book-hand in England was of a uniform type and local peculiarities are hard to discern.<sup>8</sup> Nor does the illumination of the Psalter help us further. Apart from numerous initials with pen-work ornamentation there are three which can properly be described as illuminated. Only one, on fol. 3 (Pl. vi), has figural work, namely a 'C' with a scene of a seated master and a disciple. Like the other two illuminated initials, which are on fols.

58<sup>b</sup> and 166<sup>b</sup>, it is small in size and though the work is of good quality, it is of standard Romanesque style, not giving sufficient grounds for localization.

Even if we are denied the satisfaction of knowing where precisely the Psalter was produced in England, we are allowed that which derives from the fact that it is not only the earliest actual book in the Millar Bequest, but also appears to be an earlier manuscript of Peter Lombard's commentary on the psalms than any already in the British Museum.<sup>9</sup> The commentary was composed before 1143 and Peter died in 1160. It is even possible then that our manuscript was written during the lifetime of the 'Master of the Sentences'. It was one of two books, the other being the Lincoln Pentateuch, item V in the Bequest, which Eric Millar acquired from the collection of the printer and connoisseur Charles St. John Hornby, after the latter's death. Hornby had purchased it from Messrs. L. Rosenthal in 1911 for £62 and it became his manuscript no. 28. He had it bound by Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son, of which he was a director, for £5. 10s. 3d. Millar paid Hornby's executors £100 for it in August 1946.

Add. MS. 54230. Millar Bequest IV. JUDGES, RUTH, PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, and SONG OF SONGS, glossed, in *Latin*, written in England, probably at Reading Abbey, in the late twelfth century. Beginnings of all books and nine other folios missing. Vellum and paper; iii+109 fols. 295×212 mm. Original, contemporary binding: oak boards covered with deerskin, no strap remaining, but nails for attachment on front cover and hole for pin on back cover.

Glossed Bibles, in both complete and partial sets, formed the backbone of any monastic library in the Middle Ages. The contemporary library list of Reading Abbey, which was founded only in 1121, in the late twelfth-century chartulary of the house, Egerton MS. 3031,<sup>10</sup> mentions (fol. 8<sup>b</sup>) four complete Bibles, apparently without glosses, and eleven volumes of parts of the Bible, glossed, together with two unglossed volumes containing portions of the scriptures. One of those glossed volumes is probably the present item in the Millar Bequest. The relevant entry in the Reading catalogue reads: 'Iudicum glosatus sicut scolis in uno uolumine. in quo etiam continentur. Ruth. parabole. ecclesiastes. cantica canticorum.' It will be seen that the description accords perfectly with Millar's manuscript and further evidence for an identification is supplied by the close resemblance of the binding to that on a Bede, Egerton MS. 2204, which contains the press-mark of Reading Abbey. Unfortunately the beginnings of all the books, the places where we would expect to find decoration, are missing from Millar's manuscript and there is virtually no other embellishment in it. The script is a good book-hand of the last part of the twelfth century, which does not, however, display any decisive local characteristics. Given the date and nature of the book, we may nevertheless feel reasonably justified in postulating that it was at Reading itself that it was executed. Eric Millar purchased it from

Messrs. J. & J. Leighton on 2 March 1916, for £12, it having been number 32 in their catalogue of manuscripts of that year.

Add. MS. 54231. Millar Bequest V. PENTATEUCH, glossed, in *Latin*, written in England in the mid thirteenth century. Vellum; i+395 fols. 430×275 mm. Red and blue initials, the major ones with pen-work decoration. Modern binding and chemise by Miss Katharine Adams. Plate vii.

The coming of the friars was one of the great phenomena in English religious life in the thirteenth century. The Dominicans arrived first in 1221, the Franciscans came three years later. By the middle of the century the latter already had some forty foundations to their credit, which included ones at all the principal cities and a penetration as far into 'the wilds' as the Isle of Anglesey, if we may be allowed to count this as part of the 'English' mission. Both the present and the next items in the Millar Bequest come from the libraries of Franciscan friaries in England and Wales, the first from that at Lincoln, the second from that in Anglesey. The friars minor settled at Lincoln, then the see of the largest diocese in England, stretching from the Thames to the Humber, in 1230. Thirteen books have so far been identified as surviving from their library there.<sup>11</sup> Of these Eric Millar's is the first to enter the British Museum. Its provenance is proclaimed by a mark like a figure 2 with a long, horizontal tail, transected by two vertical strokes, in the top right-hand corner of fol. 1 (Plate vii). Eight other manuscripts from the same source bear a similar mark. Out of the thirteen books surviving from the Lincoln Franciscans there is one which by its date and content immediately poses the question of a relationship with Millar's manuscript. It is a glossed Pauline Epistles, now MS. 57 at Lambeth Palace. The width of its pages is the same as that of those in the Pentateuch, but they are not so deep, measuring only 355 mm. down. Moreover, the written space is smaller and the hand is not so accomplished. However, the decoration of the two manuscripts is very alike and both have copious marginal annotations in pen and pencil by a number of hands. The volumes of a series were not necessarily of identical format and script in the Middle Ages—we may recall in this connection the two volumes of St. Augustine on the Psalms amongst the books bequeathed to Durham by Bishop William de St. Carilef, now MSS. B. III. 13 and 14 in the Chapter Library there—and we are certainly tempted to wonder whether, despite their differences, the Millar Pentateuch and the Lambeth Epistles may not belong to a set. The answer is of some importance, for the Epistles not only has the Lincoln press-mark but also notes of its bequest to the community of friars minor at Lincoln by Brother Ralph de Corbrige, who is otherwise known to history.<sup>12</sup> He is said to have joined the order, on the advice of Alexander of Hales, who died in 1245, because of a dream he had whilst a regent master at Paris. When still a novice he was

appointed a lector at the Oxford friary. In order to be a master at Paris he must have been at least thirty-five years old, so his bequest may have taken effect c. 1270. Of course the Franciscans at Lincoln may have owned more than one set of the Bible with glosses. We must remember the famed insatiable appetite for books which was developed by the friars.

Like the Psalter from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, the Pentateuch from Lincoln was purchased by Millar in August 1946 from the executors of St. John Hornby for £100. Hornby had bought it from Messrs. Maggs Bros. in May 1817 for £33 and it became his manuscript no. 40. The binding cost him £11. The only other item of bibliographical interest which remains to be recorded about the manuscript is the presence of the name William Barnarde on fol. 36.

Add. MS. 54232. Millar Bequest VI. BIBLE, in *Latin*, written in England in the mid thirteenth century. Vellum and paper; vi+315 fols. 212×150 mm. Double columns: 60 lines. Simple decorated or pen-work initials at beginnings of prologues and books (beginnings of Deuteronomy, Matthew, and Romans missing).

The Franciscan house in Wales, to which we referred in the last description, was at Llanfaes, in the Isle of Anglesey. It was founded in 1245 by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, the first 'prince of Wales', and only one book is known to remain from its library, namely the present manuscript.<sup>13</sup> It reached Llanfaes by the bequest of a Brother Gervase of Bangor, presumably a member of the house. We learn of the donation from an inscription, now hopelessly damaged by reagent, on fol. 308b of the Bible. Millar dated the inscription c. 1300 and read it as: 'Ista biblia est fratri / ieruasii de bangor / ad usum in uita sua / et post mortem communitatis / de llanuaes qua [sic] / accomodata est (?) in/super fratri dauid filio / . . . nepoti suo / ad (?) tempus [or perhaps opus].'<sup>14</sup> There is of course no reason to suppose that the manuscript, which is a typical thirteenth-century 'study' Bible, something of which the ninth item in the Bequest is an even more standard example, was produced at Llanfaes, or that the Pentateuch which we treated immediately previously was produced at Lincoln, indeed there is every likelihood that they were not. The twelfth to thirteenth centuries saw the decisive shift of the centres of intellectual life from the religious houses as such to the universities, and of book production from religious to lay ateliers. Nothing stimulated the professional book trade everywhere so much as did the coming of the friars. By the very nature of their life and ideals they normally bought rather than wrote out themselves the books they used.

Two book plates previous to Millar's own adorn the Llanfaes Bible. On fol. i are the arms and name of Sir Godfrey Webster, Bart., and on fol. ii those of John Chadwick, Esq., of Healey Hall, Lancashire, with the date 1791. Webster's book-plate has been cancelled. There were two Webster baronets

with the Christian name of Godfrey and the evidence suggests that the manuscript belonged first to the second of them, who succeeded the first, his father, in 1780. The latter enjoyed the title for less than a year, but his son survived until 1800, when having had 'ill luck at play, (he) shot himself at his house in Tenterden street, Hanover square', being then aged eighty.<sup>15</sup> In the same year died John Chadwicke, also an octogenarian,<sup>16</sup> who had presumably acquired the Bible nine years earlier. It appeared at Sotheby's on 14 November 1918, as lot 108 in a sale of the first portion of the stock of the late W. J. Leighton, when it passed to Messrs. Francis Edwards for £15. 10s. It was purchased from them by Eric Millar on 26 January 1920 for £35.

Add. MS. 54233. Millar Bequest VII. ST. RAYMOND OF PENAFORT, SUMMA DE POENITENTIA, in Latin, written in England in the late thirteenth century. Vellum and paper; iv+167 fols. 190×130 mm. Crude marginal drawings. Modern binding by Messrs. C. & C. McLeish. Plate viii.

In their monumental *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* Professors Manly and Rickert were able to trace, though not with absolute certainty, the provenance of thirty-nine extant manuscripts of the Tales back to the fifteenth century. The existence of fifteen manuscripts of the Tales in the fifteenth century is independently known from surviving records and some of these Manly and Rickert attempted to identify with the surviving manuscripts.<sup>17</sup> One of the records from the fifteenth century is contained on fol. 3 of the present manuscript (Pl. viii), where is to be found a list of the books in the oratory of one, Thomas Stotevyle, in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Henry VI, namely 1459–60.<sup>18</sup> The Stotevyle's, or Stuteville's, as they afterwards became known, were an old Suffolk family, whose principal residence was at Dalham in that county. Our Thomas was a member, and eventually governor of Lincoln's Inn, as was his like-named father before him. At the time of his father's death in 1448 the son was forty years old. He made his will on 20 December 1466, but the date when it was proved is not known. In view of the medieval habits with regard to will-making we may assume that the younger Thomas died not long after the date just mentioned. Besides his copy of the 'Narraciones cantuarienses' he owned five other works of literature. These were 'Alisaundir', Beaus of Hamtoun, The Siege of Jerusalem, The Siege of Troy, and Piers Plowman. Travel is represented by a Mandeville and history by 'De imperatoribus et pontificibus Romanorum', 'Cronyclis in francia', and a 'Rotulus a principio mundi usque in resurrectionem christi', although we must remember that their owner would have considered all his literary books except the Canterbury Tales and Piers Plowman as history. Out of a total of forty books in Stotevyle's list twelve seem to have been of a scientific nature. They include a Dioscurides, a book on surgery 'et aliis artibus' in French, and the Computus of Joannes de Sacrobosco, as well as

a treatise on palmistry, the truly scientific nature of which would now be in doubt. Only three books are in fact legal, a Decretals and a Code, and of course the Raymond of Penafort itself. There are five liturgical books, together with a 'great Bible', a Song of Songs, and the Golden Legend in English. Two books are specifically stated as being on paper, namely one on physics and a 'Quaiarium in paupero de destinacionibus'. Whilst not attempting to compete with those of such (secular) magnates as Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, or John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Thomas Stotevyle's library ranks as a very fair collection for a man of his time and standing. His copy of the Canterbury Tales was tentatively identified with either the Helmingham Hall or the New College manuscripts of this by Manly and Rickert.

The Raymond of Penafort is a compactly written, late thirteenth-century volume, with copious annotations and corrections in the margins, mainly in an early fourteenth-century hand. Contemporary with these are a number of rough marginal drawings, meant to draw attention to or loosely illustrate portions of the text. According to a note on fol. ii<sup>b</sup> the manuscript was given by a 'C. T.' to an 'R. J.' in 1829 and in August 1853 it was given by one T. A. Ward to William Stuart, of Aldenham Abbey, Hertfordshire, who was the eldest son of Archbishop William Stuart of Armagh and died on 7 July 1874. It was sold for £2. 5s. as lot 112 in Stuart's sale at Sotheby's on 17 June 1875 to 'Mr. Stark (bookseller, of King William Street, Strand)', in whose possession it was seen by 'A. J. H.' (presumably A. J. Howard), when publishing Stotevyle's library list in *Notes and Queries* for 13 May 1876. Subsequently the manuscript appears as lot 626 in the sale at Sotheby's of the books of the Reverend Nathaniel C. S. Poyntz, who was Vicar of Dorchester, Oxfordshire, from 1886 to 1920, on 30 June 1921. It was sold then to Messrs. P. J. & A. E. Dobell for £12, from whom Eric Millar acquired it on 8 July that year for £25.<sup>19</sup>

Add. MS. 54234. Millar Bequest VIII. SAPIENTIAL BOOKS, glossed, in *Latin*, written and illuminated in northern France in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Vellum and paper; iii+207 fols. 340×240 mm. Signatures and catchwords. Decorated and historiated initials. Modern binding of brown levant by W. H. Smith & Son Ltd. Plate ix.

In his notes on his collection Eric Millar entered a query against the description 'English' for this manuscript. His suspicion was justified for it seems indeed to the other side of the Channel that the manuscript should be assigned. It is a handsome product and its script has a hardness and angularity which at once suggests a 'foreign' (north French or Flemish) provenance. Ordinary decoration is by red and blue initials embellished with pen-work which extends into the margins. Similar embellishments are to be found associated with paragraph signs. There are five historiated initials:

fol. 1. Parables: P, Solomon and a disciple.  
 fol. 58b. Ecclesiastes: U, Solomon.  
 fol. 77b. Song of Songs: O, the Bridegroom (Christ) and the Bride (the Church).  
 fol. 101. Wisdom: D, Solomon and two Jews (Pl. ix).  
 fol. 131. Ecclesiasticus: O, Jesus, son of Sirach, pointing to the heavens ('All wisdom cometh from the Lord'), and two Jews.

The figures in the initials are good examples of the Transitional style in French painting in its latter stages. That is to say, they belong to the class of illumination which centres on the four great Bibles *Moralisées* which were executed in connection with the French court in the period immediately before the emergence of Early Gothic illumination at Paris in the years following St. Louis's return in 1254 from his first crusade.<sup>20</sup> Book painting in the style of the Bibles *Moralisées* was widespread throughout northern France in the second quarter of the thirteenth century and after. In fact, however, the initials in Millar's manuscript show a distinct relationship with work in the best of such Bibles, that now MS. 1179 in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.<sup>21</sup>

On fol. 1 of our manuscript is the signature of a William Moore and the date 1838. Two armorial book plates of his further appear on fol. ii. Messrs. James Rimell & Son, from whom Eric Millar bought the manuscript on 5 February 1938, for £80,<sup>22</sup> told him that they had purchased it privately from the Moore family in Cumberland as part of a library. We are able to identify the book's owner in 1838 as the William Moore of Grimeshill, Westmorland, who discovered the well-known Roman milestone at Middleton and died in 1862.

Add. MS. 54235. Millar Bequest IX. BIBLE, in Latin, written in France (? Paris) in the second half of the thirteenth century. Vellum and paper; ii+623 fols. 130×85 mm. Double columns: 45 lines. Five historiated initials. Modern binding of white pigskin by W. H. Smith & Son. Plates *xa* and *b*.

A type of manuscript especially associated with the thirteenth century and with the Parisian scriptoria during it is the small, 'study' Bible, a perfect example of which is the present item in the Millar Bequest. It has the characteristic double columns of tiny writing and red and blue initials, with feathery pen-work decoration extending into the margins. There are five simple historiated initials, namely:

fol. 3. Prologue: F, Jerome at a lectern.  
 fol. 255b. Psalms: B, David harping.  
 fol. 284. Parables: P, Solomon and a disciple.  
 fol. 463. Matthew: L, the Tree of Jesse (Pl. *xa*).  
 fol. 515. Romans: P, Paul seated.

Incorporated in these initials are bar and gable decoration and dragons. Colouring is generally flat and the figural style dry and linear. Flesh is rendered in white, with spots of red on cheeks. The illumination is of the standard type found at Paris and in northern France in the later thirteenth century. The whole manuscript is indeed a typical, 'workshop' product, a description which is not meant in any way to deprecate its definite quality and charm. For a 'study' Bible of English origin we may look at item VI in the Bequest, Add. MS. 54232, above.

So valuable were books in the Middle Ages that they could serve as securities. This happened to our French Bible in 1443, as we learn from a note on fol. 622 (Pl. xb). On 7 June that year, being then in the possession of the Carthusian monastery of Bonnefoy, in the diocese of Viviers, it was pledged by John Vincen., procurator and treasurer of the house, to Guigo, chancellor of the diocese of Le Puy. In return Bonnefoy received 10 'royaux d'or'. The debt was to be repaid on the next feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September). It was permitted that discharge could be by 10 actual 'royaux d'or' or by a sum of equal value, which was stipulated. This was to be made up of 4 'royaux', 5 'écus nouveaux', 1 ducat of Siena and 1 florin of the Rhine or Germany. We do not know if the book ever was redeemed. Probably it was not, for an inscription of ownership on fol. 63b, in a hand of c. 1500, does not seem to contain any reference to Bonnefoy. Unfortunately this inscription is illegible by ordinary means and the only name in it that can be read satisfactorily after recourse to ultra-violet light is the Christian name of the then possessor of the manuscript, which was John. According to notes on fol. 2 the Bible afterwards belonged to Jean Pinet, who was a canon of Nevers in 1670 and elected Dean there in 1694. He died in 1707.<sup>23</sup> There is further an ex-libris of 'Ern. de Toytot' on fol. ii. This is presumably the Ernest de Toytot who published a book in 1863 on the cult of Notre Dame de la Salette in the region of Grenoble. Eric Millar purchased the manuscript from Messrs. Davis and Orioli on 30 September 1925 for £50.<sup>24</sup> They said they had bought it in Paris a few days previously for 3,500 francs (about £35).<sup>25</sup>

Add. MS. 54236. Millar Bequest X. PETER LOMBARD, SENTENCES, in *Latin*, written in Spain in the mid thirteenth century. Vellum; i+354 fols. 171×127 mm. Modern binding: oak boards, white pigskin back, by W. H. Smith & Son, 1914. Plate xi.

The Sentences of Peter Lombard formed the great theological textbook of the Middle Ages. The present example is one of the two manuscripts of Iberian provenance in the Millar Bequest. It is written with two columns of thirty-two lines each, in a good Gothic hand of pronounced Spanish character. Especially noticeable is that compression of uprights and serifs which is so typical of

Hispanic writing in the Gothic period. There are simple initials in blue and red, with pen-work decoration. Comments and notes appear frequently in the margins in cursive hands, again characteristically Spanish in appearance. On fols. 353 and 353<sup>b</sup> are additions, now somewhat damaged, giving details of certain theses condemned in 1243 'in presencia uniuersitatis et magistrorum theologie parisiensium de mandato domini G. parisiensis episcopi . . . per cancellarium odonem et fratrem alexandrem de ordine fratrum minorum'. The last named is the famous Alexander of Hales and the chancellor of Paris at the time was Eudes de Châteauroux, who was to become a Cardinal in the following year. Bishop G. was Guillaume D'Auvergne, who ruled from 1228 to 1249. No condemnation of propositions at Paris is actually known of in 1243, unless the date in our manuscript really means 1242 by modern reckoning when there was a condemnation of the Talmud. Unfortunately the notes on fols. 353 and 353<sup>b</sup> are too faded for this to be able to be verified.<sup>26</sup>

At the turn of the century the manuscript belonged to Francisco de Olivares, rector of Castellón de la Plana, capital of the province of that name in Valencia. This we learn from a note, badly damaged by reagent, on fol. 354. The price the rector had paid for the book is given, apparently 120 solidi of Barcelona, but the word solidi has to be guessed rather than read.<sup>27</sup> We are further informed that Francisco gave the Sentences to his nephew, 'Brother' Ignacio Serrano, of Morella, presumably a friar there, through the intermediary of the rector of Villafranca del Cid, Guillermo de Bouach. Morella and Villafranca are both near to Castellón de la Plana. According to J. A. Balbas in *El Libro de la Provincia de Castellón*<sup>28</sup> the negligence of Francisco resulted in the destruction of his church by fire at the beginning of the fourteenth century. He was ordered by Rome to contribute to its restoration with the proceeds of his whole estate. The Sentences were acquired by Eric Millar as the result of an exchange with Walter Withall, of 18 Bedford Row, London, on 14 January 1914. Withall told Millar that he had bought the manuscript on 3 March 1909 in the ground floor of some offices in Milk Street, Cheapside, from the 'Marquis de Castelthomond', who had hired the premises as a temporary show-room for a miscellaneous collection brought over from Spain. This nobleman was presumably a descendant of the attainted (Jacobite) Earls of Thomond.

Add. MS. 54237. Millar Bequest XI. CISTERCIAN DIURNAL, in Latin, written for the nunnery of Lorvão, in Portugal, in 1259 to 1260. Vellum and paper; ii+422 fols. 80×60 mm. Plate XII.

The manuscript contains a note, signed 'J. K.', on fol. 416 to the effect that it was found in the convent of Alcobaça a few days before the latter was destroyed by the French in 1811 and that it was given to the writer of the note by Lieutenant Rutherford of the 94th Regiment (Scotch Brigade), 'who acquired it on

the above occasion'. Inside the front cover (fol. i) is an extract, probably from a sale catalogue, which identifies the manuscript as the property of a Revd. W. A. Keith, of Burham Vicarage, Rochester. Keith became vicar of Burham in 1868 and was the son of James Keith, an Edinburgh doctor, who is presumably the J. K. of fol. 416. A further clue to the origins of the diurnal is supplied by the note 'E(ra) M. cc. LX. nona' at the bottom of fol. 413b. This date according to the Spanish era, which was in use in Portugal at the time of our manuscript, corresponds to 1231 in the Christian era.

The evidence just rehearsed for the localization and dating of the diurnal is misleading, as can be discovered from fuller examination of its contents. In the calendar<sup>29</sup> on fols. 1–12b the latest original entry is the grading of the feast of St. Francis of Assisi as of xii lessons (fol. 10). This rank was given to it by the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order in 1259. In the following year the feast of St. Margaret was instituted as a commemoration in the order. It is an addition to the calendar (fol. 7b) and sanctoral (fol. 22ob) of our manuscript, as appears to be another change enacted in 1260, namely the raising of the feast of St. Antony the Hermit to the grade of xii lessons. The majority of the entry about the feast in the calendar is in black, but the note 'xii l.', which is apparently by the original hand of the calendar, is in red (fol. 1b). Normally the entries in the calendar are in one colour. On fol. 151, in the sanctoral, we find Antony graded as a commemoration, with a subsequent correction. Further, on fol. 384b, after the prayers for the weekly servers and before the hymnal, are directions, by the original scribe of the manuscript, for the celebration of Antony's feast as one of xii lessons. In 1261 Peter of Tarentaise and William of Bourges were introduced into the Cistercian litany, from which in our diurnal (fols. 363–6) they are absent. The rank of two masses, ordered for the feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins in 1262, is an addition to the calendar (fol. 10b) and St. Julian of Le Mans is only a commemoration on 28 January (fol. 1b), from which he was moved to the preceding day with the rank of xii lessons in 1267. We may therefore conclude that Dr. Millar's manuscript was commenced after the General Charter of 1259, was largely completed by the time of that of the following year (allowance being made of course for the Chapter's decrees to reach Portugal), and was finished soon afterwards.

Beside appropriate portions of the divine office, the present diurnal includes the rites of extreme unction and for the dying and the dead (fols. 359–83). In them we find a mixture of genders for the participants, but the feminine predominates. This implies that the manuscript, which is of the quality of an ordinary, workaday book, not a special, luxury codex made for some external person interested in the Cistercians, was for use in a nunnery. Which this was can be deduced from the anniversaries in the calendar. They are:

(26 March) 'reg. anglie transmittetur semper f. iii post octabas pasche'.  
 (6 June) 'p. dno. p. albanensi'.  
 (21 June) 'domine thorosie omnes cantent' (Pl. XII).  
 (7 Nov.) 'regi [sic] ludouici'.  
 (28 Nov.) 'p. reg. francie'.

The first, fourth, and fifth of the above commemorations were observed throughout the Cistercian Order. The first is of Richard I of England and was originally decreed in 1223, being finally assigned to the Wednesday after Low Sunday by the General Chapter of 1224.<sup>30</sup> The anniversary on 7 November is of Louis VIII of France and was instituted in 1227. In the following year the order went out 'in kalendariis innotetur'.<sup>31</sup> Louis's wife, Blanche of Castile, is the person meant by the abbreviation on 28 November and her anniversary was decreed in 1253.<sup>32</sup> The 'p. albanensi' of 6 June may be Pierre de Colmieu, Cardinal Bishop of Albano who died on 25 May 1253 and whose request for an anniversary by the Cistercians had been granted in 1246.<sup>33</sup> The order did not necessarily keep anniversaries on the actual date of a death. Alternatively, in view of the Portuguese character of our manuscript, which is clearly evidenced by its script, the entry on 6 June may refer to Colmieu's predecessor at Albano, the Portuguese Paio Galvão, who died probably on 1 June 1228, but concerning an anniversary for whom the decrees of the Cistercian General Chapter are silent. Nor do they help us concerning the 'thorosia' on 21 June, but given the nationality of the diurnal, she is identifiable as Teresa, daughter of Sancho I of Portugal and sometime wife of Alphonso IX of Leon. After her separation from her husband and return to her native country she was granted the decayed Benedictine house at Lorvão in the year 1200. She refounded it as a Cistercian nunnery, retired to it, and died there in 1250 on either 17 June or 18 July. When we remember the solemnity with which her anniversary is directed to be kept by the calendar in Millar's diurnal, we may assume that this was executed for, and presumably at, Lorvão. The refoundation is likely to have involved the building and dedication of a new church, although we have been able to find no record of this, and it is to such a dedication that the date 1231 may be referred. It appears in fact on the last line on fol. 413b, between the hymns for the common of virgins and the dedication of a church.

Alcobaça was the mother house of Lorvão and it was at the former, it will be remembered, that Lieutenant Rutherford discovered the manuscript in 1811. After its ownership by W. A. Keith we know no more about it until Eric Millar bought it from L. Solomons on 15 December 1926. It is only the second liturgical manuscript from Portugal to enter the Museum, and now ranks as the earliest. The other is Stowe MS. 11, a Missal executed in 1557 to 1563 for the rectification of the services in Portugal, at the order of King João III.

Add. MS. 54238. Millar Bequest XII (formerly Phillipps MS. 2522). PONTIFICAL (fragmentary), in *Latin*, written in France in the mid fourteenth century. Vellum and paper; i+29 fols. 290×213 mm. Square notation on four red lines. Decorated (pen-work) initials. Modern niger binding by W. H. Smith & Son.

The contents of this manuscript are extremely fragmentary. We find first (fols. 1–2) the last part of the burial rite, followed by (fols. 2–4) the commendation of souls. The next five pages (fols. 4*b*–6*b*) are occupied by part of the consecration of a portable altar. Then come fragments, not themselves in correct order, of the mass and blessing of oils on Maundy Thursday (fols. 7–15*b*). After these are portions of the coronation rite (fols. 16–27*b*) and the final item in the volume is part of the examination of a bishop elect (fols. 28–9*b*). There is no specific metropolitanate mentioned in this. So far as it is possible to pass judgement the texts represent nothing more advanced than a version of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical of the tenth century.<sup>34</sup> We will allow ourselves some more detailed examination of the coronation fragments, coming as they do from a rite which has always been of particular interest to medievalists.<sup>35</sup> What survives begins with the end of the prayer when the king leaves his chamber. We have the procession to the church but no actual formulae are provided for the oath. Millar's manuscript thus follows here the recension of the Romano-Germanic found by its editors, Professors Vogel and Elze, in their Bamberg, Eichstätt, Pistoia, and Lucca manuscripts.<sup>36</sup> After the oath-taking our manuscript has the prayer, 'Omnipotens eterne deus', before that 'Benedic domine hunc regem', the reverse being the standard Romano-Germanic order. Then, after the prayer 'Deus inerrabilis', our manuscript follows the recension found by Vogel and Elze in their Monte Cassino, Vallicellana, and Vendôme manuscripts.<sup>37</sup> That is to say, the unction of the head does not appear before that of the hands. There is a lacuna in Millar's manuscript from the last part of the prayer 'Prospice omnipotens deus' at the unction to the crowning itself. Here we find the benediction of the king before the crowning, again a reversal of the order in the Romano-Germanic. In this the giving of the rod precedes the crowning, whereas in Millar's manuscript it follows it. There is another lacuna from the middle of the prayer at the giving of the rod to the last part of the coronation to survive, which is indeed an extract from the coronation of a queen consort, a ceremony which has seen little development through the ages. We may observe that the Romano-Germanic type of coronation is not known ever to have been actually used in France, so that its presence in what from its script and decoration is clearly a French manuscript is of textual rather than practical liturgical interest.

The Pontifical was one of a series of manuscripts (nos. 2298–798) which Sir Thomas Phillipps purchased from the bookseller Thomas Thorpe. It was bought by Eric Millar from Messrs L. Solomons on 4 February 1928 for £1. 10s.

Add. MS. 54239. Millar Bequest XIII. *LEGENDA AVREA*, by Jacob of Voragine, in *Latin*: chapters ii, iii, lvii, iv–xv only, written in Germany c. 1300. Vellum and paper; 44 fols. 143×105 mm. Modern binding of red morocco by W. H. Smith & Son.

It is unknown exactly when Eric Millar acquired this manuscript, but at the time he did it was fols. 101–44 in the next item in the Bequest. On the last page of the list of contents on fols. 1–2 of this it is entered as ‘Aliqua particula de legenda sanctorum. (fol. 112).’ The reference is to the original foliation of the manuscript. Eric Millar had the extracts from the Golden Legend taken out and bound separately in April 1914, as we learn from a note by him on a page (fol. 100\*) inserted in the next manuscript at the place where they had been.

Add. MS. 54240. Millar Bequest XIV. *SERMONS*, in *Latin*, written in Germany in the early fourteenth century. Vellum and paper: 183+100\* fols. 145×105 mm. Modern binding of red morocco by W. H. Smith & Son.

The same uncertainty about the immediate provenance of this manuscript naturally prevails as did about the last. Nor can their original locality be determined in any but wide terms. A variety of hands appear, all of a cursive Germanic type. The sermons provide for both the temporal and the sanctoral, ‘De communi’ and ‘De mortuis’ and there is a certain amount of other material. This includes ‘Aliqua medicinalia’ (fols. 135–6b), a prayer for use against tempests (fol. 154b), a ‘Confessio de usu pauperie’ (*sic*, fol. 156b), meditations on the Passion attributed to St. Bernard (fols. 158–66b) and a sequence ‘Flete fideles anime’ (fols. 166b, 167). The last is only otherwise known from a thirteenth-century troper at Stuttgart.<sup>38</sup> In the interpretation of poverty there is a statement implying that its author belonged to the Franciscan order and the sermons include ones for Sts. Clare, Francis, and Elizabeth of Hungary, as also indeed for St. Dominic. The only saint appearing of possible local importance is Stephen, King of Hungary, but probably little should be made of this indication in the fourteenth century in the Empire. We may notice on fol. 101, amongst some remarks on natural science on this page and the next, an allusion to gunpowder. The writer is speaking about thunder, of which he distinguishes two varieties. There is the celestial (‘supernum’), namely the natural, and the unnatural (‘extremum’), produced from certain powders, placed ‘in camera ferrea’. When enclosed therein and ignited they make ‘horrible tonitruum’. The passage does not suggest an acquaintance with the projecting or even really the destructive nature of gunpowder, although it is difficult to see how some knowledge of them can be avoided, when there is reference to the confinement of ‘the powders’.

Add. MS. 54241. Millar Bequest XV. *RULE OF ST. BENEDICT*, in *Latin*, written in northern Italy, perhaps at Bologna, in the early fourteenth century. Vellum;

49 fols. 195×130 mm. One decorated initial. Original, contemporary front and back covers: very faded, possibly once red, leather; two straps originally, both now missing, except for fragment of lower; two studs remaining on front and one pin on back, all three belonging to lower strap; modern spine. Plate XIII.

The manuscript was in the library at Camaldoli in the eighteenth century, being referred to by Mittarelli and Costadoni in volume vi of their *Annales Camaldulenses*, published in 1761.<sup>39</sup> The connection with the Holy Hermitage goes back much further, however, right to the presumable original owner of the book, a Camaldoles monk, who has left copious information about himself on the fly-leaves. Unfortunately some of the most important of his notes, on fol. 48b, have been badly damaged by reagent and are no longer legible. Nevertheless, we are able to supply a fuller account of him than that given by Mittarelli and Costadoni, if not as complete a one as should have been possible. The monk was named Benvenuto Bononiensis, and presumably therefore a native of Bologna. After his inscription of ownership on fol. 1b is a date, apparently 1327, but which Mittarelli and Costadoni read as 1332, and which we may take as that when he acquired the manuscript. His notes tell us that he had joined the Camaldolites in 1317, on the feast of St. Romuald, 19 June, at the monastery of Sta Maria de *Angelis* at Florence. On 2 September the same year he was transferred to Fontebuono. His profession took place at Camaldoli on 19 June 1321. On 8 or 9 June 1325 he was moved to the Abbey of St. Andrew *de Candeculis*, near Florence, but later in the same year seems to have been at San Vigilio, Siena, and on 17 November he arrived at the monastery of Sta Maria, Urano, in the diocese of Ravenna. In 1329 'die xvij. martii fui in monasterio Sancti justi de vulterra' (San Giusto, Volterra), which he left in 1335 to reach Camaldoli itself again on 8 March. Three years later he was transferred to St. Michael's, Arezzo, on 16 September, of which he became prior on 6 August 1339. In 1341 we find him at Siena once more, having become Prior of San Vigilio there on 22 March. The next, and probably the most interesting, portion of the record of his life as a monk is virtually indecipherable. We can only make out the last entry in the record, which tells of his election as abbot of St. Andrew *de Candeculis* in 1363. One other event which Dom Benvenuto thought worth noting down is to be read on fol. 49. This is his reception of plenary absolution on Wednesday, 6 September 1357, from Agostino Tinacci, Bishop of Narni, acting as papal legate. The data which his copy of the Holy Rule supplies about the sometime superior of Camaldoles houses at Arezzo, Siena, and *de Candeculis* are of the greatest interest for their picture of a leading member of his order in the later Middle Ages and make us wish that all the details of this picture were still visible.

The fly-leaves of our manuscript are occupied not only by notes about Dom Benvenuto, but also by miscellaneous jottings of a liturgical or spiritual purpose,

in a variety of hands, all, however, dating from the fourteenth century. The text of the Rule itself is written in a square, Gothic hand of a north-Italian type of the early fourteenth century. There is one decorated initial, at the beginning of the prologue (fol. 2), an 'A', with ornamentation consisting mainly of coloured leaves which extend into the margins (Pl. XIII). The style of the script and illumination, the surname of Dom Benvenuto, and the position of Bologna as the centre of book-production in fourteenth-century Italy all suggest that it was at Bologna that Eric Millar's manuscript was executed. He purchased it from Messrs. L. Solomons on 19 August 1925 (the price is unknown). It had appeared at Messrs. Sotheby's on the previous 30 July (lot 293), as 'the property of a gentleman', when it fetched £2. 10s.

Add. MS. 54242. Millar Bequest XVI. CARTHUSIAN HYMNAL, in *Latin*, written possibly in south-eastern Germany in the early fifteenth century. Vellum and paper; i+33 fols. 193×140 mm.

Eric Millar's ex-libris (fol. i) in this bears the note 'My first manuscript'. He purchased it on 6 February 1911 for £1. 6s. from the 'Polyglot Library' in Charing Cross Road. Besides hymns (fol. 1-8b) it includes the canticles for use in the third nocturn on Sundays and greater feasts (fol. 9-14), the litany of the saints (fol. 15b-18), the office of the dead (fol. 18-22b), and antiphons, little chapters, and collects for ferias and from the common of saints (fol. 22b-32b). The liturgical use is immediately apparent from the title of the litany, namely 'Letania ordinis carthusiensis maior' (fol. 15b), and is confirmed by further examination of the manuscript's contents. The only unusual name in the litany is Achatius, 'cum sociis tuis'. Legend gives the number of these companions as no less than 10,000, who with their leader were supposed to have been martyred on Mount Ararat. The story is a fabrication of the fourteenth century. In Germany, to which the hymnal can be definitely assigned by the character of its script, Achatius seems to have been especially venerated in the south-east and in particular in the diocese of Passau. The only Carthusian monastery there was that of the Throne of Our Lady at Gaming, but the evidence available is too slight to support more than a very tentative localization of the hymnal to this place.

Add. MS. 54243. Millar Bequest XVII. WORKS OF JEAN GERSON and others, in *Latin*, written in Germany c. 1425-45 (formerly Phillipps MS. 591). Vellum and paper; ii+260 fols. 287×215 mm. Original binding: brown calf with blind-tooled patterns of a saltire within a rectangular border on each cover; straps missing, but two brass fastenings remaining on back cover; holes and marks of five bosses on each cover; press-mark and labels with titles and further marks and numbers on spine. Original book-marker. Plate XIV.

On 6 November 1451 the library of the distinguished Charterhouse of St. Barbara at Cologne was totally destroyed by fire. Every effort was immediately made to repair the loss. A new building had already been begun by 25 June 1453 and the results of gift and purchase, as well as scribal activity by the Cologne Carthusians themselves, went to stock it.<sup>40</sup> Amongst the volumes acquired from outside must be numbered the present manuscript, for although it bears in a mid-fifteenth-century hand on fol. 1 the inscription 'Liber domus sancte Barbare in Colonia ordinis Carthusiensis' and the general period of its execution is the fifteenth century, some of its contents are actually signed and dated before the fire. Works by, or attributed to, Jean Gerson, St. Jerome, St. Bernard, and St. Ambrose compose the larger part of the manuscript and the dates are given when the copying of the following of them was completed:

1. Gerson, *De vita spirituali* (fols. 2–32b): 15 January 1431.
2. Gerson, *De sollicitudine ecclesiasticorum* (fols. 32b–41): 10 February 1437.
3. Gerson, *De oratione* (fols. 41–2): 28 February 1437.
4. 'Queritur an mala loqui' (fols. 42–3): 1 March 1437 (Pl. xiv).
5. 'Recapitulacio dictorum in libello qui vocatur dieta salutis' (fols. 64–74): 1445 'In die sancti bonifacij pape' (Pope Boniface IV's day is 25 May, that of Pope Boniface I is 25 October).
6. Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi* (fols. 161b–4): 1425.
7. Cicero, *Ars memorativa* (fols. 183–4): 1426.
8. Bernard, *Meditationes* (fols. 185–91b): 21 February 1427.

No less than ten scribes seem to have worked on the manuscript and one of them has left us his name. The tract beginning 'Queritur an mala loqui' is not only dated, it is signed by Brother P. 'de Wyli<sup>s</sup> aliter de Juliac.' (*sc.* Jülich). He was responsible for fols. 23–43b (first column), written in the 1430's. At the same time and presumably after 1437 worked another scribe (fols. 43b, second column–68b) who ranks as the continuator of P. de Wyli<sup>s</sup>. The labour was carried on by Hand III on fols. 69–86b, about half-way through which portion occurs the date 1445. To the second half of the 40's may be assigned Hand IV, responsible for fols. 87–132. The next three pages are blank and with Hands V–VII (fols. 134–8; 138b–83, first column; 183, second column–191b, respectively) we have work done in the 1420's, as may be ascertained by reference to the table of dates above. The work of the last group of scribes (Hand VIII: fols. 192–247b; Hand IX: fols. 247b–8b and 253–9b; Hand X: fols. 249–52b) provides no internal dating to guide us to the period when it was done. All the hands are of a standard Germanic character, as might be expected, except for II and IV which show distinct humanistic influence and may perhaps be due to only one scribe. A further item of interest about the present

manuscript is the presence in it of an original book-marker. This consists of two narrow strips of white leather, attached to one of which is a piece of vellum folded over to form the shape of a shield. The 'shield' is movable up and down and bears the number 'II' on it. The only other original book-marker in the Department of Manuscripts is to be found in the Martyrology of the Bridgettine nuns of Syon Abbey (Add. MS. 22285, fifteenth century), but this is more elaborate, designed to give practical help in the official reading of the Martyrology.

In the 1740's the books of the Cologne Charterhouse were catalogued under the direction of Prior Johannes Siegen. They were divided into categories numbered A-O and the number O. 125 which appears on labels on the spine of Millar's manuscript is to be connected with this cataloguing. Another mark, A. XXX, can also be seen on the spine, not on a label, and presumably relates to an earlier arrangement. St. Barbara's at Cologne was secularized in 1796 and a large portion of its library, including the present manuscript, came into the possession of Leander van Ess, Professor of Catholic Theology at Marburg from 1812 to 1822, when he retired to Darmstadt, to die there in 1847. Van Ess formed a considerable collection of manuscripts, drawn particularly from St. Barbara's and the monasteries of St. Jakobsberg, near Mainz and Steinfeld, in the Eifel, which in 1823 he offered for purchase to Sir Thomas Phillipps. A deal was concluded but arguments over payment were to occupy a full five years.<sup>41</sup> The Cologne Gerson appeared in the Phillipps sale at Sotheby's on 7 June 1910 (lot 381), when it went to Bertram Dobell, the bookseller, for £3. It featured in his catalogue of the following year and was sold to Eric Millar on 13 December 1911 for £6. 6s. It becomes the third manuscript from the Cologne Charterhouse in the British Museum, the other two being Add. MSS. 38007, the Magna Vita of St. Hugh of Lincoln, dated 1511, and 38021, Sermons of Jacobus de Voragine, dated 1421. Both these likewise came from the collections of Phillipps and van Ess.

Add. MS. 54244. Millar Bequest XVIII. LEAF from a manuscript of CICERO, DE ORATORE, written at Florence, A.D. 1453. Vellum. 241×175 mm.

The script of humanism is represented by two items in the Millar Bequest, the present one and the next. Although the first is only a fragment, it has the advantage over the second that its writer is known. He was Gherardo del Ciriagio, the leading Florentine scribe in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, two other complete manuscripts copied by whom are already in the Museum. These are Harley MS. 2593, Manetti, De dignitate hominis, dated 1455, and a Sallust, Add. MS. 16422, dated 1466. The major part of the Cicero from which the present leaf is taken is now in the collection of Mr. B. S. Cron and bears the date 1453. The 'complete' manuscript—it actually lacked

three leaves already—was purchased by Sir Sydney Cockerell at the sale of the library of Samuel Allen, of Lisconnan, Antrim, at Sotheby's on 30 January 1920 (lot 42), for £10. 15s. Previously it had been lot 1238 in Sotheby's sale of 18 June 1866 and item 35747 in Messrs. B. Quaritch's catalogue 369 of September that year. Cockerell had the manuscript rebound, but before doing so gave thirteen damaged or mutilated leaves to friends. Those that can be traced are one given to Graily Hewitt, now in the possession of Mr. Alfred Fairbank, a second in the library of the Society of Scribes and Illuminators, to which it was presented by Madelyn Walker, and the present one, which was given to St. John Hornby.<sup>42</sup> It seems not unlikely that it came into the Millar collection as a gift from Hornby. It is fol. 5 of the first of the original fourteen gatherings in the book and contains chapters 26–33 of Book I of *De Oratore*. There is no decoration on the two pages, which each have twenty-six lines of writing on them. There are four corrections to the text, two, in the same hand as the text, being above lines, and the other two, in a more cursive script, being in the margins. All appear to be by Gherardo.

Add. MS. 54245. Millar Bequest XIX. ST. ANTONINUS OF FLORENCE, 'INTERROGHATORIO', in *Italian*, written in Italy (? Florence) in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Vellum and paper; iii+183 fols. 240×150 mm. Major decorated initial on fol. 6. Plate xv.

The second humanistic manuscript in the Millar Bequest is of one of the Confessionali composed by St. Antoninus Forciglioni, the Dominican Archbishop of Florence, who died in 1459 and was canonized in 1523. There are four types or versions of confession manual attributed to the saint, one in Latin, the other three in Italian. The first begins 'Defecerunt scrutantes scrutinio' and the second is an Italian translation of it, whilst the third and fourth are distinct works, beginning 'Curam illius habe' and 'Omnium mortalium cura' respectively.<sup>43</sup> Millar's manuscript is of the second treatise. This has no regular title and that which we have assigned to it is taken from a colophon (fol. 174b) in the present copy. At the beginning (fol. 6) it is merely called 'VNO TRACTATO DI CONFESIONE'. St. Antoninus is thought to have compiled the Confessionali before he became Archbishop of Florence in 1446. In Millar's manuscript he is described as 'Reverendo Huomo Messer Antonio . . . per Divina Clementia Archiepiscopo Fiorentino' (fol. 6), which might mean that he was still alive when it was written. The script is particularly fine and a page of it was chosen by Graily Hewitt as an illustration for his book *Handwriting, Everyman's Craft*.<sup>44</sup> There is a gilt initial 'D', with white vine-stem decoration, at the beginning of the Interroghatorio (Pl. xv). The decoration was intended to spread into the margin, but was never completed. The other sections of the book are headed by smaller gilt initials within panels.

At the top of fol. 1 of the manuscript is an erased inscription of ownership, the vital portion of which does not respond to fluorescent light, and the mark 'N. 6'. In the nineteenth century the Antoninus was in the library at Sudbury Hall, Derbyshire, formed by the 5th Baron Verulam (d. 1866, book plate on fol. i), the Italianist and Dante enthusiast, who was a great friend of a figure pre-eminent in the history of the British Museum, namely Sir Anthony Panizzi. The Sudbury library was sold at Sotheby's in 1918, when the present manuscript (10 June, lot 18) passed to St. John Hornby for £27. 10s. He gave it to Graily Hewitt on 26 March 1935 (see fol. iii), 'in memory of an old friendship and a happy association in work of many years' (fol. ii). Hewitt bequeathed it to Millar, who received it on 31 March 1953. There is no other manuscript of the *Interrogatorio* in the Museum.

Add. MS. 54246. Millar Bequest XX. MINIATURE OF THE NATIVITY, painted in Italy (? Rome) in the mid sixteenth century. Vellum. 117×82 mm. Plate xvi.

The last true home of the art known as book illumination was the Papal Court in the sixteenth century, where the master craftsmen were Giulio Clovio (actually born in Croatia, fl. 1520–78) and Apollonio de' Bonfratelli (fl. 1523–72). It is with this circle that the present item should be associated. The Italian miniaturists of the sixteenth century cannot rank as original artists, they were increasingly under the influence of the full-scale painters of the day, in particular Raphael and Michelangelo. Eric Millar's miniature is no exception to this dictum. It is an accomplished work which reveals lack of inspiration on analysis. It shows the influence of Clovio but is without his sureness of touch and definition. Its presence in the Bequest is of importance in that it helps to demonstrate the catholicity of Eric Millar's interests in manuscripts. We have not discovered how he acquired it.

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<sup>1</sup> Additional MSS. 42563, 42564, 42851, 43830 v, 43858, 43868, 43971, 44085 s, 45224 A and Y, 45880 A, 45907 F, 46273, 46274, 46473 L, 52779 and Additional Ch. 70798.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS. 48984 and 52778, Egerton MSS. 3775 and 3776. On the last three of these manuscripts, and Add. 52779, see D. H. Turner, 'From the Library of Eric George Millar', *British Museum Quarterly*, xxx, 1966, pp. 80–8 and pls. xvi–xx.

<sup>3</sup> Two manuscripts were bequeathed to B. S. Cron: a Bible, written in France in the thirteenth century, and a Prosler of Aquitaine, Epigrammata, etc., written in France c. 1260–70; and two others were bequeathed to Professor Francis Wormald: a Bible, preceded by a Cistercian Missal, written in

France in the thirteenth century, and a Dionysius, Hierarchia, from Waltham Abbey, written in England c. 1260–70. A fifth manuscript, a miniature copy of R. L. Stevenson's 'Travel', executed in 1932, was bequeathed to Miss J. Martineau.

<sup>4</sup> Correspondence relating to the transaction is Add. MS. 54323, fols. 32–51.

<sup>5</sup> Correspondence relating to the transaction is Add. MS. 54323, fols. 52–75.

<sup>6</sup> N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn., 1964, pp. 42–5.

<sup>7</sup> *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 200.

<sup>8</sup> See further N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford, 1960, pp. 34–9.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, iv, Madrid, 1954, p. 323.

<sup>10</sup> S. Barfield, 'Lord Fingall's Cartulary of Reading Abbey', *English Historical Review*, iii, 1888, pp. 113-25; G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain*, 1958, p. 91.

<sup>11</sup> Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 118.

<sup>12</sup> A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 1957, p. 484.

<sup>13</sup> Ker, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>14</sup> See E. G. Millar, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 7th series, iii, 1923, p. 319.

<sup>15</sup> G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, iv, 1904, p. 188.

<sup>16</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine*, lxx, 1800, p. 1216 describes him as 'an attentive and active officer (in the Royal Lancashire militia), an impartial magistrate, and a truly honest man'.

<sup>17</sup> J. M. Manley and E. Rickert, Chicago, 1940, i, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. ibid., pp. 610, 611.

<sup>19</sup> The bill is Add. MS. 54323, fol. 4.

<sup>20</sup> See A. de Laborde, *La Bible Moralisée Illustrée*, Paris, 1911-21, for a complete reproduction of one of the manuscripts and selected reproductions of the others; also J. Porcher, *French Miniatures from Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1960, pp. 45-8.

<sup>21</sup> N. J. Hermann, *Die Westeuropäischen Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Gotik und der Renaissance*, i (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, Neue Folge, vii), Leipzig, 1935, pp. 29-47, Tafeln x-xiii.

<sup>22</sup> Papers concerning the sale are Add. MS. 54233, fols. 25, 26.

<sup>23</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, xii, 1770, col. 665 says 'subito defunctus anno 1707'.

<sup>24</sup> The bill is Add. MS. 54323, f. 11.

<sup>25</sup> Millar published the manuscript in 'Thirteenth century Portable Bibles', *International Studio*, Aug. 1929, pp. 27-9 and illustrations.

<sup>26</sup> See further P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des Maîtres en Théologie de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, i, Paris, 1933, p. 14.

<sup>27</sup> On the 'solidus barchinone' as a coin in use in the early 14th century see A. Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l'Historia de la Cultura Catalana Mig-eval*, ii, Barcelona, 1921, pp. 18, 22, 51, 57, etc. and F. Mateu y Llapis, *Glosario Hispanico de Numismática*, Barcelona, 1946, pp. 190, 196.

<sup>28</sup> 1892, p. 229.

<sup>29</sup> On the history of the Cistercian calendar see S. Marosszéki, *Les Origines du Chant Cistercien*, *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, Annus viii, Rome, 1952, pp. 41-6.

<sup>30</sup> J.-M. Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium ordinis cisterciensis*, ii, *Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Fasc. 10, Louvain, 1934, pp. 24, 33.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 57, 58, 66.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 390.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 303, 304.

<sup>34</sup> Published by C. Vogel and R. Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du Dixième Siècle*, i, *Studi e Testi* 226, Rome, 1963.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. ibid., pp. 246-59.

<sup>36</sup> Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lit. 53; Eichstätt, Bischofliches Archiv, Pontifical of Gonidekar II; Pistoia, Biblioteca capitolare, Cod. 141; Lucca, Bibl. cap., Cod. 607.

<sup>37</sup> Monte Cassino, Cod. 451; Rome, Bibl. Valicellana, Cod. D. 5; Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, Cod. 14.

<sup>38</sup> U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, iii, Louvain, 1904, no. 26669; G. M. Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, xx, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 155, 156.

<sup>39</sup> p. 50.

<sup>40</sup> C. Löffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, Bücherei der Kultur und Geschichte, Bonn and Leipzig, 1922, pp. 249-52.

<sup>41</sup> A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillips Library up to the Year 1840*, Phillips Studies No. 3, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 29-33.

<sup>42</sup> B. L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script*, Rome, 1960, pp. 112, 113.

<sup>43</sup> R. Morçay, *Saint Antonin*, Tours and Paris, 1914, pp. 404-7.

<sup>44</sup> 1938, p. 76.

## II. THE CHARTERS

The Millar Charters (Additional Charters 75641–722) are a miscellaneous collection of eighty-two deeds, rolls and other documents of the twelfth to sixteenth centuries. Most of them are of English provenance and relate to places in twenty-five counties. There is no large group of deeds relating to a particular person or place, although there are four late thirteenth-century charters relating to Houghton, in Hampshire (75684–7). Many of the deeds are, however, of considerable individual interest. The earliest English charter (75670; Pl. xvii) is a fine, well-written chirograph of c. 1153–67, by which William Capel regranted to Wibert the Prior, and the Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, land previously granted to them by Goditha, daughter of Elfwinus Euerga, to be held on the same terms as they had held it from her. The whereabouts of the land is not stated. The charter belonged to Sir Edward Dering, 1st Bart., the seventeenth-century antiquary, and has his mark of ownership (⊕) on the back.<sup>1</sup> Millar's collection includes two other deeds relating to Christ Church, namely, a charter of Prior Roger granting Nicholas de Lafham the manors of Monk's Eleigh and Hadleigh, in Suffolk, for three years, 1261 (75692), and a lease by Prior John Finch to Stephen Cherlesfelde of land in Ickham, Kent, 1389 (75671).

Two charters relate to Exeter. The first, a grant by Richard Wallerand of land in Exeter to the Vicars Choral of Exeter Cathedral, c. 1234–53 (75654; Pl. xviii) is of special interest as it is copied into the roll chartulary of the Vicars Choral (now Additional MS. 52729), which also belonged to Millar. The second charter (75655) is a grant by John of Exeter, canon of Exeter Cathedral, of an annual rent of 12*d.* from property in Smith Street to the brethren and sisters of the Calendarhay (*fratribus et sororibus de Kalenda*), 1266. The Calendarhay, an almshouse for twelve poor men and twelve poor women opposite the west front of the Cathedral, was later dissolved and appropriated to the Vicars Choral by Bishop Grandison (1328–70).

Several charters have interesting personal associations. 75673 is a quitclaim by Sir Geoffrey Luttrell, who commissioned the Luttrell Psalter (Additional MS. 42130), of a piece of land in Irnham, Lincolnshire, to William Ke of Irnham, 1323. Two documents relate to the disputed will of Sir William de Windsor, husband of Edward III's mistress, Alice Perrers. One is a notification by Sir William de Melton and others of the testamentary wishes of Sir William de Windsor, 1384 (75720), and the other is a lease by John de Bretby, parson of Brampton, in Cambridgeshire, to John Windsor, of all the lands which he had held from Sir William, 1384 (75713). Sir Francis Walsingham is named among the plaintiffs in a final concord relating to the rectory and lands at Leigh, Kent, 1586 (75672).

Other English charters which deserve special mention are a grant (75699;

Plate xix) by Robert Drew, of Littleton Drew, Wiltshire, to Roger of Castle Combe, Wiltshire, of land in Littleton Drew, written in an unusually large and ornamental script (late thirteenth century, after 1290); and a manumission and grant of lands in Metfield, Suffolk, to Alan, son of Henry Warmete, by John, Prior of Menham, Suffolk, with a fine impression of his personal seal, 1335 (75693).

Documents other than charters include one item of very great interest: an autograph inventory of the household goods, clothes, and stock of Simon Gentil, 1369 (75712). Nothing is known of Simon, but he seems to have been quite prosperous. The inventory is an exceptionally long and detailed list of his possessions arranged by rooms. It includes such items as 'i portiforium precium xl s Et plures alii libelli precium xvij d; i habergioum proveniens de castello de Eccleshall' and 'i equus (*sic*) bay pro sella Simonis Gentil precium xl s Et iiiij equi caretarii precium C s per estimacionem cum iiiij colers et iii paribus tractuum et i sella cum toto alio apparatu'.

The foreign charters and documents include several noteworthy items. The most interesting is a good contemporary copy of the terms of the truce arranged at Malestroit between Edward III and Philip VI of France, 18 January 1343, by Cardinals Petrus Penestrinus, Vice-Chancellor of the Roman Church, and Ambaldus Tusculanus, the papal nuncio (75711).<sup>2</sup> The document may have originated in the Cardinals' entourage, as the hand is apparently Italian. Another Italian deed is Additional Charter 75710 (Pl. xx), the earliest dated charter in Millar's collection. This is a grant in a remarkable archaic hand, dated 9 October 1155, by which 'Palumbus filius Johannis Benedicti et de Giburga' gave 'Johannes filius Palumbi' and 'Marozza' his wife lands 'in valle de Sensano'. Among the other foreign documents the will of Katherine de Bassi of Tournai, 1360 (75719) may be singled out for mention as an interesting addition to the Department's large collection of Tournai deeds (Add. Charters 58916-9033). Finally, the collection includes two charters in Provençal relating to St. Macaire and Talence, département Gironde, 1275, 1350 (75706, 75709).

M. A. F. BORRIE

<sup>1</sup> See C. E. Wright, 'Sir Edward Dering: A Seventeenth Century Antiquary and his "Saxon Charters"', *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe* (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies), 1950, pp. 371-93 *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> The text agrees substantially with the version in the *Continuatio Chronicarum* of Adam Murimuth (ed. E. M. Thompson, Rolls Series, 1889, pp. 129-35).

### III. 'FORGERIES'

Add. MS. 54247. Millar Bequest XXI. THREE MINIATURES BY C. W. WING, painted about 1855. A: The Adoration of the Magi; B: The Flight into Egypt; C: The Transfiguration. Vellum; 3 single leaves. 210×150 mm.

The artist who painted these three leaves, C. W. Wing, was a talented facsimilist and miniature painter employed by a London fine-art dealer, John Boykett Jarman (d. 1864), to repair and embellish manuscripts in his private collection. His first task was to restore illumination which had been severely damaged by a flood in 1846, but apparently he soon graduated to preparing new miniatures to enrich some of the undamaged manuscripts in the collection. His subjects are usually very accurately copied from other volumes in Mr. Jarman's possession. Millar's miniature of the Adoration is a direct copy of that in a Flemish Book of Hours which was lot 94 in the Jarman sale at Sotheby's on 13 June 1864. This was resold by Sotheby's on 10 November 1952 (lot 78) and the relevant miniature is reproduced in the catalogue. The Flight into Egypt is a pastiche of three of Wing's favourite models, all of different dates and schools. The border and the figure of St. Joseph come from another Flemish book, the 'Da Costa Hours' (lot 65 in the Jarman sale; present whereabouts unknown), the Virgin and Child, with the donkey, from a French Mannerist Hours of about 1525 (lot 36; now MS. Smith Lesouëf 42 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), and the background scene from a mid fifteenth-century French Hours (lot 21; now Add. MS. 25695). The Transfiguration is copied from another of the miniatures in the 'Da Costa Hours'.

Millar acquired these three miniatures from Messrs. Quaritch in 1937. One was a gift, the others he bought. They come from a series of nine added by Wing to a Flemish Book of Hours which Quaritch purchased at Sotheby's on 23 March 1937 (lot 174). Millar was one of the first to recognize that the Jarman collection had been extensively embellished by a Victorian artist, but, apparently through misreading an inscription, he was under the mistaken impression that the artist was a lady, 'Mrs. Wing'. Further information about Mr. Jarman and Mr. Wing may be found in the article: 'A Victorian Connoisseur and his Manuscripts', *British Museum Quarterly*, xxxii (1968), pp. 76–92.

Add. MS. 54248. Millar Bequest XXII. MINIATURE BY THE 'SPANISH FORGER', late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Vellum; a single leaf. 235×195 mm. It depicts a king and a queen, enthroned, being entertained by two musicians. The vellum is probably medieval and the verso has twenty-one lines ruled on it in red. (See more fully, pp. 65–71 below.) Plate xxi.

Add. MS. 54249. Millar Bequest XXIII. MINIATURE OF ST. ROMUALD'S VISION, late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Vellum; a single leaf. 140×200 mm.

The miniature is painted on a cutting from a large Gradual which shows part of the Mass of the Dead. This has no particular connection with the founder of Camaldoli. A portion of the text has been erased to make a space for the miniature, but red stave lines can still be seen under the painting where the colour has flaked away. This miniature has not so far been connected with any similar forged work. It is not the work of the 'Spanish Forger'.

JANET BACKHOUSE

#### IV. MODERN CALLIGRAPHY AND ILLUMINATION

Add. MS. 54250. Millar Bequest XXIV. ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON, 'REQUIEM', written by Edward Johnston, 10 August 1908. Vellum; 1 fol. 140×140 mm. Binding of red morocco, gold tooled, by W. H. Smith & Son. Plate xxiii.

Add. MS. 54251. Millar Bequest XXV. ROBERT BROWNING, 'THE BOY AND THE ANGEL', written and decorated by Madelyn Walker, finished 26 February 1913. Vellum; 5 fols. 230×175 mm. A large illuminated initial at fol. 3. Binding of tan morocco, blind tooled, by C. & C. McLeish.

Add. MS. 54252. Millar Bequest XXVI. THREE POEMS BY ALFRED NOYES, written and decorated by Madelyn Walker, October 1925. Vellum; 6 fols. 190×150 mm. A small illuminated initial at the beginning of each poem, and a small miniature at the end of the second. Binding of blue morocco, gold tooled, by C. & C. McLeish.

Add. MS. 54253. Millar Bequest XXVII. TWO POEMS BY JOHN MCCRAE, written and decorated by Joan Kingsford, 1926. Vellum; 4 fols. 170×105 mm. Elaborate borders. Binding of tan morocco, blind tooled, by C. & C. McLeish.

Add. MS. 54254. Millar Bequest XXVIII. 'IN MEMORIAM JULIUS P. GILSON': *The Times* obituary and appreciation of Gilson, written by Madelyn Walker, August 1929, and given to Mrs. Gilson in October that year by Millar. Included is a letter to Millar from Mrs. Gilson's sister, Miss M. R. Pearce, returning the manuscript to him after Mrs. Gilson's death in 1936. Vellum and paper; ii+5 fols. 225×170 mm. Binding of dark green morocco, gold tooled, by W. H. Smith & Son.

Add. MS. 54255. Millar Bequest XXIX. JAMES ELROY FLECKER, 'THE GOLDEN JOURNEY TO SAMARKAND', from *Hassan*, written and gilded by Madelyn Walker, 17 September 1929, and illuminated by Joan Kingsford Wood (finished 28 February 1938). Vellum; 4 fols. 195×145 mm. Sumptuously decorated with

three miniatures and large full-page borders. Binding of dark green morocco, gold tooled, by W. H. Smith & Son, 1938. Plate xxv.

Add. MS. 54256. Millar Bequest XXX. LETTER FROM THE SOCIETY OF SCRIBES AND ILLUMINATORS, written by Rosemary Ratcliffe and gilded by Vera Law, presented to Dr. Millar on the occasion of his lecture to the Society on 18 November 1947. Included is a letter from Sir Sydney Cockerell, 20 November 1947, who had taken the chair at the meeting. Vellum and paper; i+2 fols. 235×170 mm. Binding of red morocco, gold tooled, by C. McLeish.

Add. MS. 54257. Millar Bequest XXXI. SPECIMENS OF CALLIGRAPHY AND GILDING BY WILLIAM GRAILY HEWITT (d. 1952). Vellum and paper; 20 fols. Various sizes. Most of these leaves were sent, presumably to Dr. Millar himself, as Christmas cards. Two decorated initials on fol. 1 are by Graily Hewitt's assistant, Ida Henstock. Binding of blue morocco, gold tooled, by W. H. Smith & Son. Plates xxiv<sup>a</sup> and b.

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## V. LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS

### (a) ANSTEY PAPERS

ADD. MSS. 54258-313. MILLAR BEQUEST XXXII-LXXXVII.  
'F. ANSTEY' (T. A. GUTHRIE), AND ANGELA THIRKELL PAPERS.

ADD. MSS. 54258-61. MILLAR BEQUEST XXXII-XXXV. LETTERS OF T. A. GUTHRIE TO HIS FAMILY AS FOLLOWS:

Add. MS. 54258. Millar Bequest XXXII. To his mother, Augusta Amherst Guthrie, 1877, to his brothers, Leonard, 1877-1908, and Walter ('Dod'), 1888, and to his sister, Mrs. Edith Millar, 1901-18.

Add. MS. 54259. Millar Bequest XXXIII. To his sister, Mrs. Edith Millar, 1919-33.

Add. MS. 54260. Millar Bequest XXXIV. To his nephew, Eric George Millar, 1901-18.

Add. MS. 54261. Millar Bequest XXXV. To his nephew, Eric George Millar, 1919-34.

ADD. MSS. 54262-7. MILLAR BEQUEST XXXVI-XLI. GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE OF T. A. GUTHRIE AS FOLLOWS:

Add. MS. 54262. Millar Bequest XXXVI. 1877-89.

Add. MS. 54263. Millar Bequest XXXVII. 1890-9.

Add. MS. 54264. Millar Bequest XXXVIII. 1900-9.  
Add. MS. 54265. Millar Bequest XXXIX. 1910-19.  
Add. MS. 54266. Millar Bequest XL. 1920-9.  
Add. MS. 54267. Millar Bequest XLI. 1930-4.

Correspondents in these volumes include the following:

Sir Lawrence and Lady Alma-Tadema  
Sir J. M. Barrie  
Laurence Binyon  
'M. E. Braddon' (Mrs. Maxwell)  
Rhoda Broughton  
Sir F. C. Burnand  
'E. M. Delafield' (Mrs. Dashwood)  
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle  
Gerald du Maurier  
Guy du Maurier  
John Galsworthy  
Sir W. S. Gilbert  
Sir Edmund Gosse  
Mrs. Kenneth Grahame  
Weodon Grossmith  
Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins  
Sir Charles Hawtrey  
Sir A. P. Herbert  
Georgina Hogarth  
John Kendall  
Rudyard Kipling  
E. V. Knox  
Andrew Lang  
Eva le Gallienne  
Frederick Lehmann  
W. J. Locke  
E. V. Lucas  
Sir Henry Lucy  
Archibald Marshall  
Sir Bernard Partridge  
James Payn  
Sir Arthur Wing Pinero  
Sir Nigel Playfair  
Sir E. J. Poynter

Lady Ritchie  
'Elizabeth Russell' (Countess Russell)  
Edward Linley Sambourne  
Sir Owen Seaman  
Sir John Tenniel  
Mrs. Humphrey Ward

ADD. MSS. 54268-9. MILLAR BEQUEST XLII-XLIII. CORRESPONDENCE OF E. G. MILLAR CONCERNING T. A. GUTHRIE AS FOLLOWS:

Add. MS. 54268. Millar Bequest XLII. 1934-43.

Add. MS. 54269. Millar Bequest XLIII. 1944-60.

ADD. MSS. 54270-3. MILLAR BEQUEST XLIV-XLVII. SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE, ETC., OF T. A. GUTHRIE, BOUND BY W. H. SMITH & SON FOR E. G. MILLAR.

Add. MS. 54270. Millar Bequest XLIV. Letter from Rudyard Kipling, 1900.

Add. MS. 54271. Millar Bequest XLV. Letter from Sir J. M. Barrie, 1901.

Add. MS. 54272. Millar Bequest XLVI. Letters from Sir Owen Seaman, 1906-26.

Add. MS. 54273. Millar Bequest XLVII. Menu card of the *Punch* dinner given for Mark Twain, 1907, signed by those present.

*Note: Other letters from all three of the above correspondents will be found among the general correspondence.*

ADD. MSS. 54274-89. MILLAR BEQUEST XLVIII-LXIII. PROSE AND VERSE WORKS OF 'F. ANSTEY' AS FOLLOWS:

Add. MS. 54274. Millar Bequest XLVIII. Bound copies of a complete set of the undergraduate magazine, 'The Cambridge Tatler', March-June 1877, containing in nos. 7-11 (8 May-5 June), Chapters I-IV of *Turned Tables: or, The Unnatural Offspring*, a preliminary version of *Vice Versa*. Manuscript annotations by Walter Frith, the editor, who presented the volume, 1934, to Mrs. E. Millar and E. G. Millar.

Add. MS. 54275. Millar Bequest XLIX. Notebook containing drafts of the Cambridge period; about 1877.

Add. MS. 54276. Millar Bequest L. Notebook, bound by W. H. Smith & Son for E. G. Millar, containing outlines for *Vice Versa*, *The Black Poodle*, and other stories; 1880.

Add. MS. 54277. Millar Bequest LI. Proofs of *Vice Versa*, with autograph corrections; 1882.

Add. MS. 54278. Millar Bequest LII. Notebook containing miscellaneous notes and outlines, including drafts for *The Giant's Robe*, 1884; n.d.

Add. MS. 54279. Millar Bequest LIII. Notebook containing uncompleted notes and draft of a novel, with a distant resemblance to *The Pariah*; notes on the plays of Labiche; dated at beginning, 20 May 1886.

Add. MS. 54280. Millar Bequest LIV. Notebook containing very brief notes of conversations and events; dated 1887-9.

Add. MS. 54281. Millar Bequest LV. Notebook containing miscellaneous drafts including material for *Mr. Punch's Model Music-Hall Songs and Dramas*, 1892; *Voces Populi*, 2nd ser., 1892. Reversed is material for *The Travelling Companions*, 1892, N.d.

Add. MS. 54282 A, B. Millar Bequest LVI. Two notebooks containing drafts, etc., for a novel 'A Double Dilemma'. In 54281 A the outline of the plot is dated 6 October 1892. This notebook also includes a preliminary sketch of *Lyre and Lancet*, 1895, here entitled 'The Minor Poet' and dated October 1893; an outline 'Household Gods'. Reversed is a draft of a novel 'Called from the Bar'. 54281 B is dated 14 November 1892. 1892-3, and n.d.

Add. MS. 54283. Millar Bequest LVII. Notebook containing miscellaneous notes and drafts including the following: notes from his diaries 1882-92; drafts, etc., for *Lyre and Lancet*, dated 11 April 1894, and n.d., with a note 'Personal Appearance of Characters—for Partridge'; notes for *The Statement of Stella Maberly*, 1896; notes and drafts for *Puppets at Large*, 1897; rough material for parody of Ibsen. Reversed are notes, etc., for sketches, dated 1892-3; drafts for the poet Undershell's verses and other material for *Lyre and Lancet*, 1895; notes on a work entitled '*The History of Henry Milner*, 1835'. 1892-4 and n.d.

Add. MS. 54284. Millar Bequest LVIII. Notebook mainly containing material for *Baboo Faberjee*, 1897. Reversed are miscellaneous notes and drafts including notes from his diaries, 1890-5; a summary of John Gabriel Borkman, n.d.

Add. MS. 54285 A, B. Millar Bequest LIX. Two notebooks containing among numerous miscellaneous notes and drafts, material for *In Brief Authority*, 1915, as follows:—

54285 A. Material including a list of contents for *Puppets at Large*, 1897; miscellaneous plots, etc., for novels; a preliminary draft of *In Brief Authority*. Reversed is material including notes for 'A Double Dilemma' (cf. 54282 A, B). Dated entries are 1 January 1896 and 7 July 1898. The novel is given the provisional title 'The Touchstone'. 1896-8 and n.d.

54285 b. Material including notes for *Love Among the Lions*, 1898; and for a pantomime; a sketch of *In Brief Authority*, and other children's stories. Reversed are further notes on pantomime and other miscellaneous reading, etc. N.d.

Add. MS. 54286. Millar Bequest LX. Corrected autograph manuscript, bound by E. G. Millar, of 'Winnie, A Everyday Story', printed in *In A Good Cause. Stories and Verses On Behalf Of The Hospital For Sick Children*, 1909.

Add. MS. 54287. Millar Bequest LXI. Corrected autograph manuscript, bound by W. H. Smith & Son for E. G. Millar, of *In Brief Authority*, 1915.

Add. MS. 54288. Millar Bequest LXII. Miscellaneous prose and verse including drafts of 'Filial Little Frank', published in *Burglar Bill*, 1888; 'The Cracker that Came from the Clown', 1902; 'The Adventure of the Snowing Globe', published in *The Strand Magazine*, 1905 and *Salted Almonds*, 1906; 'The House with the High Walls', published in *Punch*, 1908, and *Percy And Others*, 1915; Material for *In Brief Authority*, 1915, dated 24 October 1912; 'The Case is Altered', manuscript dated 12 August 1913, and typescript; 'Sparkling Biacrene', published in *The Strand Magazine*, 1914, and *The Last Load*, 1925; part manuscript and typescript of *Burglar Bill*, dated 10 April 1930, prepared for a proposed reprint. 1888–1930.

Add. MS. 54289. Millar Bequest LXIII. Miscellaneous undated drafts of stories, dialogues and articles including the following:

1. Stories: 'The Unseen World'; 'Blatta the Betrothed'; 'Old Clothes' (unfinished); an untitled 'Outline for Domestic Story in Humble Life'; 'Mr. Wardroper's (or Mr. Pettipher's) Poltergeist', two drafts; 'My Incubus'; 'A Meeting that Made Amends'; 'Olinda Snell'.

2. Dialogues: 'The Frenzy of Furnishing' (cf. 'Household Gods', about 1892–3 in 54282 a); copies of extracts from *Voces Populi*, 1890 and *Voces Populi*, 2nd ser., 1892, apparently made for a broadcast.

3. Articles: notes and draft 'Some Characters from Labiche'; 'Meditations on Music Halls'; 'Drawing Them Out'; 'Polemics in Hyde Park'; 'Playing the Game'; 'Awaiting Developments' [after 1914]; 'Do Birds think?'; 'My First Book', published in *The Burning Bush*, [an Eton College Magazine], no. 1, 4 June 1928. About 1890–1928 and n.d.

ADD. MSS. 54290–309. MILLAR BEQUEST LXIV–LXXXIII. DRAMATIC WORKS OF 'F. ANSTEY' AS FOLLOWS:

ADD. MSS. 54290–2. MILLAR BEQUEST LXIV–LXVI. MSS. OF PLAYS BOUND BY W. H. SMITH & SON FOR E. G. MILLAR.

Add. MS. 54290. Millar Bequest LXIV. *The Man from Blankley's*, corrected

autograph manuscript, probably given to E. G. Millar, Christmas 1915. First produced, 1901. 1899–1900.

Add. MS. 54291. Millar Bequest LXV. *The Brass Bottle*, corrected autograph manuscript of the play which was first produced, 1909. 1907.

Add. MS. 54292. Millar Bequest LXVI. *Vice Versa*, corrected autograph manuscript of the play which was first produced, 1910. 1909–10.

ADD. MSS. 54293–9. MILLAR BEQUEST LXVII–LXXIII. OTHER MANUSCRIPTS OF PLAYS BY 'F. ANSTEY'.

Add. MS. 54293. Millar Bequest LXVII. *The Man from Blankley's*, autograph draft of preface, etc., n.d., for the printed edition, 1927, and typescript, probably 1915.

Add. MS. 54294. Millar Bequest LXVIII. *The Brass Bottle*, miscellaneous notes; an early version of Act IV, dated 9 March 1907, and a typescript of the completed play, with manuscript additions, 1908–9.

Add. MS. 54295. Millar Bequest LXIX. 'Hush Money', notebook containing an autograph draft of this unperformed and unpublished play, dated December 1900–13 January 1901.

Add. MS. 54296. Millar Bequest LXX. Unpublished dramatisations I, as follows: 'Hush Money', typescript with manuscript additions (cf. 54295), 1900; 'A Short Exposure', manuscript and incomplete typescript, 1899, produced 1901; 'The Game of Adverbs', dated 16 May 1906, produced 1908; 'A Girl of Genius', early draft entitled 'Miss White', later draft, and typescript with manuscript additions, 1908. 1899–1908.

Add. MS. 54297. Millar Bequest LXXI. Unpublished dramatizations II, as follows: 'Only Toys', miscellaneous notes and drafts, and fair copy dated 2 April 1910; 'Henery Urch', draft dated 9 January 1911, and typescript with manuscript corrections; 'A Statue at Large', miscellaneous notes and drafts, and fair copy dated 30 September 1911. 1910–11.

Add. MS. 54298. Millar Bequest LXXII. Unpublished dramatizations III, as follows: 'Love among the Lions', drafts, dated 11 December 1911; 'A Fallen Idol', notes and drafts, dated 5 June 1912; 'The Game of Adverbs', draft dated 14 December 1912, and typescript (cf. 54296); 'Brought to Book', typescript with autograph corrections, dated 6 March 1913; notes for a proposed dramatization of 'Tourmalin's Time Cheques', n.d.; 'Without Inquiry', n.d.; 'The Fullaloves', n.d., bearing a note dated 30 October 1911; 'Strained Relations', n.d. 1911–13 and n.d.

Add. MS. 54299. Millar Bequest LXXIII. 'Aladdin', material for the pantomime version, Drury Lane, 1917.

ADD. MSS. 54300-7. MILLAR BEQUEST LXXIV-LXXXI. ADAPTATIONS FROM MOLIÈRE AND OTHER FRENCH AUTHORS.

Add. MS. 54300. Millar Bequest LXXIV. *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, drafts, 1925, for the adaptation produced at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, 1926, and published 1926.

Add. MS. 54301. Millar Bequest LXXV. *Le Malade Imaginaire*, drafts and typescript of the adaptation, 1928-9, produced at The Old Vic, 1929, and drafts for the introduction, published 1929.

Add. MS. 54302. Millar Bequest LXXVI. *L'Avare*, draft, given to E. G. Millar 28 July 1929; *Le Médecin Malgré Lui*, drafts; *Le Misanthrope*, draft; and draft of the introduction to the printed edition of four Molière adaptations (cf. 54303 below), *Four Molière Comedies*, 1931.

Add. MS. 54303. Millar Bequest LXXVII. *Les Femmes Savantes*, drafts of the adaptation printed with the plays in 54302 in *Four Molière Comedies*, 1931.

Add. MS. 54304. Millar Bequest LXXVIII. *Tartufe*, drafts and typescript of the adaptation, produced at the Sheffield Repertory Theatre, 1932, and printed (cf. 54305 and 54306), in *Three Molière Plays*, 1933.

Add. MS. 54305. Millar Bequest LXXIX. *Fourberies de Scapin*, drafts, and typescript dated 27 October 1931, of the adaptation, printed (cf. 54304 and 54306), in *Three Molière Plays*, 1933.

Add. MS. 54306. Millar Bequest LXXX. *L'École des Femmes*, draft, and typescript dated 8 July 1931, of the adaptation, together with drafts of the preface, etc., printed (cf. 54304 and 54306), in *Three Molière Plays*, 1933.

Add. MS. 54307. Millar Bequest LXXXI. Unpublished draft adaptations from French authors as follows: Molière: 'L'École des Maris', 'M. de Pourceaugnac'; Pierre de Marivaux: 'Le Jeu de L'Amour et du Hasard'; Alfred de Musset: 'Carmosine', begun 13 January 1926. 1926 and n.d.

ADD. MSS. 54308-9. MILLAR BEQUEST LXXXII-LXXXIII. DRAFT FILM SCENARIOS BY 'F. ANSTEY' OF HIS WORKS, ALL UNUSED.

Add. MS. 54308. Millar Bequest LXXXII. Draft film scenarios I, as follows: 'The Tinted Venus', draft, dated 21 March 1915, and typescript; 'The Two Andromedas' (based on *Lyre and Lancet*), draft dated 8 January 1916; 'An Evil Spirit' (based on *The Statement of Stella Maberly*), draft dated 20 February 1916; 'Under the Rose', notes, and draft dated 8 February 1916 (cf. 54309); 'The Giant's Robe', draft dated 14 March 1916; 'When England Awoke', a propaganda film for the Ministry of Education, dated 14 September 1918. 1915-18.

Add. MS. 54309. Millar Bequest LXXXIII. Draft film scenarios II, as follows: 'The Black Poodle', drafts dated 13 June 1919 and [26 July 1919]; 'Under the Rose', draft dated 21 October 1920 (cf. 54308); 'Only a Mandrake' (based on *Ferdie*, 1907), draft and typescript, n.d.; 'Sparkling Biacrene', notes and draft, n.d. (based on the story, 1913); 'The Proof of the Pudding' (based on 'Ungrateful Guests', 1908), draft, n.d.; 'The Man from Blankley's', draft, n.d.; 'The Brass Bottle', draft, n.d.; 'Vice Versa', sketch, n.d.; questions on film technique, and answers signed 'A. B.', 11 June 1920.

ADD. MS. 54310. MILLAR BEQUEST LXXXIV. MISCELLANEOUS THEATRE PROGRAMMES, DRAWINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS, as follows:

1. Theatre programmes including: *The Man from Blankley's*, productions, 1901, 1906, and 1914, the latter signed by the cast who included Charles Hawtrey, Weedon Grossmith, E. Holman Clark and Gladys Cooper; *The Brass Bottle*, 1909–10, signed by the cast including E. Holman Clark and Lawrence Grossmith, and a transfer programme, 1910, of the week at the King's Theatre, Hammersmith; *Vice Versa*, 1910; *Tartufe*, Sheffield Repertory Theatre, 1932; 'Elevating the Masses' from *The Critics Carnival*, Bluecoat Theatre, Liverpool, 1960.
2. Photographs including some used in *A Long Retrospect*, 1936 (see 54311 below), and miscellaneous photographs of theatrical productions, etc.
3. Drawings by Sir Bernard Partridge of E. J. Milliken and T. A. Guthrie, on verso of menus of *Punch* dinners, 1907 and n.d.; drawings by T. A. Guthrie, about 1877–1929 and n.d.

ADD. MSS. 54311–12. MILLAR BEQUEST LXXXV–LXXXVI. A LONG RETROSPECT, autograph drafts of the autobiography of 'F. Anstey' bound by W. H. Smith & Son for E. G. Millar in two volumes. The autobiography, written between October 1929 and March 1933, the date of the preface (see 54311, fols. 1–2), was edited for posthumous publication, 1936. 54311 contains parts I–VIII, pp. 1–189; 54312 parts IX–XVI, pp. 190–412.

(b) ANGELA THIRKELL

ADD. MS. 54313. MILLAR BEQUEST LXXXVII. MISS BUNTING BY ANGELA THIRKELL, the autograph draft, contained in eleven exercise books, and written in the winter 1944–5. It was published in late autumn 1945. Presented by the author in February 1946 to Dr. Millar. Paper.

JENNY STRATFORD

## VI. AUTOGRAPHS

Add. MS. 54314. Millar Bequest LXXXVIII. SIR ARTHUR SULLIVAN, 'NOTES ON SCHUBERT'S OVERTURE IN THE ITALIAN STYLE', (?) 1874. *Autograph* with, at fol. 1, 6, notes in the hand of F. G. Edwards, the music critic. Purchased from Maggs, catalogue 591 (1933), item 1500, for £2. 2s. Binding of tan crushed morocco by W. H. Smith & Son.

Add. MS. 54315. Millar Bequest LXXXIX. W. S. GILBERT, 'THE MIKADO', *autograph* draft of Yum-Yum's song: 'The sun, whose rays' (Act II), and plan of the stage, c. 1884-5. Binding of blue morocco by W. H. Smith & Son.

Add. MSS. 54316, 54317. Millar Bequest XC, XCI. AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION; 1689-1937. Two volumes. Vellum and paper.

Dr. Millar's collection of autographs now consists of approximately 250 separate items, including letters of statesmen, writers, artists, musicians, and actors. The most recent are three letters from the novelist Elinor Glyn, addressed to Dr. Millar himself in January 1937. The earliest is a summons to a Chapter of the Order of the Garter, addressed to Charles, Duke of Somerset, in 1689 and signed by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury and Chancellor of the Order. This was given to Dr. Millar by Wilfred Merton in 1944. His first acquisition was found by his mother amongst his father's papers in 1906. It is a petition for a Civil List pension for the poet J. A. Heraud (d. 1887) and the fifty-one signatures are headed by that of Charles Dickens. Dr. Millar noted beside it, on 1 January 1944: 'I started a collection on the strength of it, and the interest thus aroused was the determining factor in my choice of a career'.

Many of the autographs were gifts from friends and relatives. Those which were actually addressed to Dr. Millar's uncle, 'F. Anstey', have now been returned to their proper place in the Anstey correspondence described above. Other contributors included his godmother, Miss M. F. Frith, daughter of the painter (whose gifts included letters of Thomas Hardy, Wilkie Collins, and Melba), Liza Lehmann, the singer (including letters of Jenny Lind, Coleridge Taylor, and Adelina Patti), Mrs. J. W. Mackail, daughter of Sir Edward Burne-Jones (including letters of her father and of Ellen Terry, Henry James, and G. F. Watts), and Mr. and Mrs. R. Courtenay Bell (who gave him autographs of Robert Browning, Oscar Wilde, Wordsworth, Prosper Mérimée, and many others). Other autographs were purchased, particularly in 1944 and later. At one time a list, of purchases only, made for insurance purposes, showed a total value of more than £800. Many of the most valuable items, including autographs of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, Carlyle, Samuel Johnson, Jane Austen, and Fanny Burney, were, however, sold off by Dr. Millar during his lifetime. He also disposed of his large collection of Dickens' letters and his

Thackeray letters and manuscripts. Both are now in the Brotherton Library at Leeds (see *The Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Brotherton Collection Committee* (1956-7), pp. 6, 7). The majority of the Dickens letters had been in the collection of the Comte de Suzannet, dispersed at Sotheby's on 11 July 1938.

Add. MS. 54318. Millar Bequest XCII. AUTOGRAPH BOOK, 1909-61, n.d. 160×105 mm. Binding of dark-blue morocco, with gold tooling, by De Sauty.

This autograph book was a gift to Dr. Millar on his twenty-first birthday, 24 October 1908, from Mrs. Marie Hensley, a sister of Sir Sidney Low. The latest in date of the twenty-six entries is that of Heather Child, the calligrapher, in 1961 (fol. 18). Contributions also include, at fol. 17, the drawing by W. A. Sillince, the well-known cartoonist, which is reproduced on p. 16.

JANET BACKHOUSE

## VII. CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS OF ERIC MILLAR

Add. MS. 54319. Millar Bequest XCIII. MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, 'PICTOR IN CARMINE', written about 1932. Included is some correspondence relating to its publication, 1948-50.

M. R. James intended this study of 'Pictor in carmine', a medieval treatise for artists on types and anti-types, for a *Festschrift* in honour of Professor Arthur Haseloff, which was planned in 1932. It was never published owing to the political situation in Germany at that time. In 1948 Professor Haseloff himself returned the manuscript to England, and it was seen through the press by Dr. Millar for *Archaeologia*, xciv (1951), pp. 141-66.

Add. MS. 54320. Millar Bequest XCIV. M. R. JAMES'S LETTERS TO DR. MILLAR, 1912-36.

This series of letters to Dr. Millar, which supplements a similar series to Sir Sydney Cockerell in Add. MS. 52728, contains much bibliographical as well as personal information. James and Millar had many interests in common and almost every letter includes some reference to books and manuscripts, usually in connection with a forthcoming lecture or paper by one man or the other. James had been a friend of 'F. Anstey' for many years before he met his nephew. The first of these letters (3 February 1912) is full of advice about the second medieval manuscript acquired by Millar, the fifteenth-century volume from the Cologne Charterhouse which is now Add. MS. 54243 in the Bequest, and the second (9 August 1912) congratulates him on securing his appointment at the British

Museum. The series ends only a very short time before James's death in June 1936.

On a less academic level there are many amusing passages in these letters, especially some of the later ones. James's appointment to the Board of Trustees of the British Museum is treated lightheartedly (11 July 1925) and so is his O.M. (5 June 1930) and Millar's doctorate (24 December 1930). A projected visit to the Department of Manuscripts is announced in phrases of unparalleled pomposity (8 May 1929) and even a contribution to the Gilson Memorial Fund seems to have arrived with a covering letter (18 Feb. 1933), referring to blackmail payments, of which any of James's favourite detective novelists might have been proud. Sir Sydney Cockerell appears more than once disguised as 'Cocker-ockerell' and Bernard Shaw is described as 'an old ass' (27 February 1924).

Add. MS. 54321. Millar Bequest XCV. 'SOME ASPECTS OF THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS', the *autograph* manuscript of two lectures delivered by Dr. Millar on 7 and 14 March 1935 as Sandars Reader in Bibliography in the University of Cambridge. Under the terms of the Sandars Trust, a copy of the text of these lectures was presented to the Museum in 1935 (Add. MS. 43971).

Add. MSS. 54322, 54323. Millar Bequest XCVI, XCVII. CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS RELATING TO MANUSCRIPTS, 1903-60. Two volumes.

The first of these two volumes is made up of correspondence about two of Dr. Millar's later publications, *The St. Trond Lectionary*, a facsimile which he edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1949 (fols. 1-69), and *The Parisian Miniaturist Honoré*, published in the 'Faber Library of Illuminated Manuscripts' series in 1959. Both books described outstanding manuscripts from his own collection. The second volume contains material relating specifically to the acquisition of manuscripts for his collection, which includes the correspondence preceding the purchase of both the York Psalter and 'La Somme le Roy' (fols. 1-79). There is also material of a more general bibliographical nature, amongst which are some letters about the celebrated Psalter of Queen Ingeborg (now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly) written by Cockerell, Haseloff, and Léopold Delisle, 1903-4, and given to Dr. Millar by Cockerell in 1929.

JANET BACKHOUSE

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAÎTRE HONORÉ

TO have been the discoverer of the most important monument of painting which has survived from the Early Gothic period in France would of itself have assured Eric Millar fame, even if he had had no other claims to renown. The monument is of course that constituted by the illumination by the Parisian miniaturist Honoré in the copy of *La Somme le Roy*, which has now become Additional MS. 54180 in the British Museum. It was bequeathed to the nation by Dr. Millar in memory of his mother, Mrs. Edith Millar, a commemoration which was also made in connection with his bequest of the York Psalter, now Add. MS. 54179. The Museum has thus come into possession of the two finest illustrated examples of *La Somme*, the other being Add. MS. 28162, which was purchased in 1869. The two contemporary manuscripts are shown side by side in the permanent exhibition of West European illuminated manuscripts in the Grenville Library.

Dr. Millar has himself told fully of the finding of Honoré's *La Somme*, but the tale will bear retelling and it is fitting that it should be in this volume of essays in honour of Eric Millar. It was in 1906 that Sir Sydney Cockerell published the first fragment of the manuscript to come to light.<sup>1</sup> This was a single miniature, MS. 192 in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, which Cockerell attributed to Honoré, adding that he did not despair of the book from which it came being found at some future date. In 1934 Cockerell himself was able to acquire a second miniature from it for the Fitzwilliam (MS. 368 there) from a continental bookseller. Then, in 1938, Lieutenant-Colonel D. E. Prideaux-Brune brought for safe keeping at the British Museum some drawings and manuscripts, which he had recently inherited. Amongst them was the manuscript of *La Somme* to which the Fitzwilliam miniatures belonged, with eleven out of the original complement of fifteen miniatures remaining in it. Eric Millar's own description of the occasion cannot be bettered: 'the study and collecting of mediaeval manuscripts has its thrills, but I do not personally expect to feel a greater one.' The manuscript remained on deposit with the Museum for nine years until, in 1947, Millar acquired it on the understanding that it was to pass eventually to the Museum.<sup>2</sup> In view of the history we have recounted it seems only reasonable to repeat now Dr. Millar's expressed hope that the two miniatures still missing may one day make their appearance.

The manuscript was twice published by its finder, once in facsimile for the Roxburghe Club<sup>3</sup> and once in a more popular edition.<sup>4</sup> We will rehearse here only the salient facts about it. There are 208 fols., measuring 182×125 mm. The binding, of black morocco, with gold tooling, was probably made in 1720 for Edmund Prideaux, an ancestor of Colonel Prideaux-Brune. The text is a moral treatise in French known as '*La Somme le Roy*', which was compiled

in 1280 for King Philip III of France, who died in 1285, by his confessor, the Dominican Brother Lorens.<sup>5</sup> The treatise was widely read and known at the end of the thirteenth century. The king's presentation copy has not been identified and we do not know if the work originally included illustrations, only that by 1294, the date of a manuscript (fr. 938) in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris, a cycle of these was in existence. As we have said, this should comprise fifteen pictures.<sup>6</sup> Those surviving in Millar's manuscript are:

1. fol. 5*b.* The Giving of the Law to Moses and the Worship of the Golden Calf (Pl. i).
2. fol. 10*b.* The Composition of the Creed.
3. fol. 14*b.* The Beast of the Apocalypse.
4. fol. 69*b.* The Seven Virgins watering the Trees of the Mystic Garden (Pl. iii).
5. fol. 86*b.* Pentecost.
6. fol. 91*b.* Representations of Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice.
7. fol. 97*b.* Humility and Pride.
8. fol. 107. Friendship and Hatred.
9. fol. 121*b.* Prowess and Idleness.
10. fol. 136*b.* Mercy and Avarice.
11. fol. 188*b.* Sobriety and Gluttony.

Besides the full-page miniatures the manuscript contains two historiated initials (fols. 6, 15) and 195 decorated ones. Nothing is known of the book's history before the eighteenth century.

The resemblance between the figural illuminations in Millar's *La Somme*, together with the two miniatures at Cambridge, and the figural illumination in a Breviary, MS. lat. 1023 in the Bibliothèque nationale,<sup>7</sup> leaves us in no doubt that one and the same artist was responsible for both and Léopold Delisle proposed that the latter manuscript was the actual Breviary for which Philip IV of France paid 107*l.* 10*s.* in 1296.<sup>8</sup> The very next item in the royal accounts records a payment of 20*l.* to Honoré 'the illuminator', a person otherwise known to us as living in his own house in the rue Erembourg-de-Brie, at that time the main residential area for illuminators in Paris, of all of whom he paid the highest poll tax in 1292. The touchstone of Honoré's style is to be found in a manuscript of Gratian, MS. 558 in the Bibliothèque municipale at Tours, which is annotated to the effect that it was bought from him in 1288,<sup>9</sup> and Delisle suggested that it was Honoré's hand that could be seen in the Breviary in the Bibliothèque nationale.

Such eminent scholars as de Mély<sup>10</sup> and Leroquais disagreed with him, but they failed to note a feature which Eric Millar had the distinction to observe.

Whilst it is true, as they said, that the majority of the miniatures in the Gratian are not by the artist of the Breviary frontispiece, the frontispiece in the former is not only by a different hand and much better than the rest of the pictures in the book, it has a clear relationship to the Breviary frontispiece. If a division of labour is in question, the superior quality and the position in the book of the Gratian frontispiece suggest that it should be considered true work of the master of the atelier where the manuscript was produced. We know that Honoré had at least one associate, namely Richard of Verdun, his son-in-law.<sup>11</sup> However, a comparison of the Gratian frontispiece with that in the Breviary and with the full-page miniatures in Millar's *La Somme*, whilst it emphasizes fundamental relationships, also reveals significant differences, which call for explanation. The whole conception of the two frontispieces is different. That in the Tours manuscript, of a king dictating the law, is a 'small-scale', 'traditional', composition. That in the Paris manuscript, of the Anointing of David and David and Goliath, is 'large-scale', and 'novel'. We have placed the first pair of qualitatives in particular within inverted commas because it is not the actual dimensions of the miniatures with which we are concerned—Gothic manuscripts are on the whole smaller than Romanesque ones—so much as the purpose behind them. The Gratian frontispiece belongs to the tradition of highly polished book illustration as evolved in the painting of the Court school of St. Louis in France, the summit of the achievement of which is provided by the Psalter of St. Louis, MS. lat. 10526 in the Bibliothèque nationale,<sup>12</sup> and the Psalter and Hours of Isabelle of France, MS. 300 in the Fitzwilliam Museum,<sup>13</sup> both executed c. 1260. The Breviary frontispiece looks forward to book illumination as it was to be perfected by Jean Pucelle and his successors. When we speak of book illustration we are putting the accent on the final product being a book; when we speak of book illumination we are putting the accent on the final product being a work of art.

In the Gratian frontispiece we feel we are looking at something which is no closer to life than a puppet-show. In the Breviary frontispiece we are looking at a full dramatic presentation. The characterizations are especially good. We note David's different expressions in his three appearances. When being anointed he shows alarm, when attacking Goliath he shows boyish confidence, when striking off the giant's head he shows equally boyish concentration. Jesse and his other sons are plainly worried and more than a little concerned at what Samuel is doing to the youngest. The prophet, however, displays dignified attention to the business in hand. Especially good is the rendering of Goliath's moment of pain as the stone hits him. Let us pursue our investigation to *La Somme*. In the miniature in our first plate (fol. 7b) we see first a suitably suppliant Moses receiving the tablets of the Law and then a dramatically despairing one breaking them. Beneath, the expression on the faces of the Israelites who

adore the Golden Calf matches that on the faces of Moses above, as he worships the true God, and the two trumpeters blow out their cheeks convincingly in the lower scene. The most satisfactory examples of characterization in *La Somme* are in the representations of Humility and Pride on fol. 97b.<sup>14</sup> The female figure of Humility has a quiet reserve, the falling Ahaziah (typifying Pride) exhibits real fright and the contrast between the derisive scorn of the hypocrite and the dejection of the repentant sinner is excellent. When mentioning Ahaziah's fall we may further remark how effectively it is rendered. He is coming headlong out of the picture 'into the audience', as was Goliath in the Breviary frontispiece. Honoré's compositions are always very flat and his only essays in the third dimension are in the nature of projection from the surface of the page rather than recession into it. This is by no means a defect. It is merely one alternative way of dealing with depth and one which became a characteristic of French painting between Honoré and Pucelle. It was to be Pucelle's distinction to combine the technique of projection with that of recession, to great effect, as in the Nativity and Passion scenes in the Hours of Yolande of Flanders, Yates Thompson MS. 27 in the British Museum.<sup>15</sup>

The Honoré of Philip IV's Breviary and *La Somme le Roy* is a much greater artist than the Honoré of the Tours Gratian. Comprehensibly the smaller miniatures in the Breviary, in the historiated initials, are not of the standard of the frontispiece. There is more of the old Honoré in them, and they provide the essential link with the Tours Gratian. Nevertheless, Honoré's expert 'portraiture', his dramatization which he achieves as much by gestures and attitudes as by facial expressions are fully realized in them, whereas in the Gratian or in the scenes in the initials on the first twelve folios of the Sainte-Chapelle Lectionary, Add. MS. 17341 in the British Museum,<sup>16</sup> in which we may see further early work of Honoré, these things are no more than embryonic. The representation in the Breviary (fol. 356) of St. Turian raising a dead girl to life<sup>17</sup> is far more accomplished than a roughly similar composition such as the Nativity in the Lectionary (fol. 10). There is an awkwardness about Honoré's work in the Lectionary and the Gratian. If we wish to be depreciatory, we can even describe the result as 'quaint'. A better word would be 'precious' and we may recall what Willibald Sauerländer has said about 'Gotische "Preziosität"' in connection with French sculpture such as the Sainte-Chapelle apostles and the Rheims 'angel of the Annunciation'.<sup>18</sup> The counterpart in painting of these sculptures is the illumination in the Psalter of St. Louis and the Psalter and Hours of Isabelle—and that by Honoré in the Lectionary and Gratian. It lacks the vigour and directness which are manifested in even such a calm and simple scene as that of the Mystic Garden in *La Somme* (fol. 69b; Pl. III).

It would be possible to explain the difference between Honoré in 1288 and 1296 as simply due to independent growth on his part. Such an explanation

about an artist should, however, only be employed as a last resort and always partakes somewhat of the quality of an argument *ex silentio*. 'No man is an island', and much less so than he himself or his admirers would like to think at times. Also, we must remember the extremely conservative nature of medieval art, which makes us look for external stimuli for the innovations in it to a greater degree than we do when dealing with some other periods. It is as an innovator that Honoré certainly ranks. There is nothing similar to him in previous Gothic painting in France and nothing there to make his development intelligible. Various works have indeed been adduced as precursors of his final style. There is the Martyrology of St.-Germain-des-Près, MS. lat. 12834 in the Bibliothèque nationale, which was written between 1255 and 1278.<sup>19</sup> There is the Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons, MS. 729 in the Pierpont Morgan Library.<sup>20</sup> The figural decoration in the former is confined to representations of the zodiacal signs and the labours of the months. It is very good work and there is a marked increase in interest in form by comparison with the Psalter of St. Louis and the Psalter and Hours of Isabelle. There is no need to see this as other than a natural progression from the illumination in these two books, a progression which can be paralleled in other 'post-St. Louis' manuscripts, for instance *Li Comtes de Méliacen*, MS. fr. 1633 in the Bibliothèque nationale.<sup>21</sup> In fact Honoré always remains closer to the 'courtly' tradition of the St. Louis school than do the illuminators of books like the Martyrology or Méliacen. The Martyrology lacks the sophistication which Honoré always showed and its miniatures are not of sufficient character to be cited as witnesses to a new phase in French painting such as could account for Honoré's development.

Similar remarks may be made about the Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons. Certainly one of the artists who worked on it is particularly close to Honoré. He has been proposed as an antecessor of his, presumably largely because the manuscript has been assumed to be earlier than those by Honoré, namely 'about 1275'. The catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition of illuminated manuscripts in 1908 wisely said no more than 'last quarter of the thirteenth century',<sup>22</sup> for the grounds for dating the Psalter are primarily stylistic. A recent proposal that evidence for a date can be drawn from the ages of Yolande and her family as they appear in a miniature on fol. 1b may be dismissed as entirely gratuitous. The 'portraits' are simply conventional, or, at the most, idealized representations, as they might be expected to be at the period. If examined without pre-conceptions the illumination in the manuscript which closest resembles Honoré's will be seen to have that unoriginal closeness which implies dependence or derivation. It can be analysed as the result of Honoré's influence on the tradition we found in the St. Germain Martyrology and in the Méliacen. Again, it does not have the intrinsic greatness or difference of vision which could have inspired Honoré to new heights, for we must always remember

that the Honoré of the Tours Gratian and the British Museum Lectionary was already a perfectly accomplished and mature artist by the standards of the time. The development which we can trace in his work is an unusually large and marked one for a medieval painter. We even venture to suggest that Honoré's development was greater than that made by Pucelle, who was essentially a synthetizer not an innovator.

So far we have contrasted the end and the beginning of Honoré's career. We would naturally like some documentation of the change effected in some eight years. This is to be found in the miniatures in a Book of Hours, MS. Solger in 4<sup>to</sup>, no. 4, in the Stadtbibliothek at Nuremberg.<sup>23</sup> Millar had little doubt that 'most, if not all, of the work is by Honoré's own hand; that the manuscript is a product of his atelier is beyond dispute'. Further, it was apparently executed for use in England and may actually have been written here.<sup>24</sup> Delisle and Vitzthum dwelt on the English character of its script, a judgement with which we are in entire agreement. The calendar (fols. 9b-15) appears to be adapted from a Sarum model, the litany (fol. 169) to derive from a Canterbury archetype.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, there is a definite interest in the manuscript in Canterbury's most celebrated saint, Thomas a Becket. Not only does he appear second in the list of martyrs in the litany, he has a daily commemoration or suffrage (fol. 52), a set of Hours in his honour (fol. 139), and two representations (fols. 17 and 139b). On the former occasion he is paired with a successor as Archbishop of Canterbury, St. Edmund Rich, who died in 1240 and was canonized six years later. They are in a series of miniatures of eighteen saints, placed between the calendar and the Hours of the Virgin, which also includes, as 'local' figures, Edmund, King of East Anglia, and Osynth. Both Edmunds are in the litany. The King seems to have had special prominence given to him by an unusually high grading and the Archbishop appears twice, not consecutively. He features first at the beginning of a group of apparently four English confessors, and secondly right at the end of the list of confessors. The latter placing is likely to denote a personal patron. Osynth is also invoked in the litany and she seems to have been of some importance at Canterbury.<sup>26</sup> The other saints of more 'personal' interest represented in the prefatory miniatures seem to be Dominic, Francis, and Clare. Francis and Dominic are both in the litany, together with Antony of Padua, three names foreign to the normal Canterbury tradition of the litany of the saints. Preceding Antony and following the three English confessors Edmund, Dunstan, and Richard is a Thomas.

He can only be the Bishop of Hereford, with the surname of Cantelupe, who died in 1280 and was canonized in 1320. Hence Delisle dated the Nuremberg Hours after that year. Despite the pre-eminence that should always be accorded to textual evidence when dating manuscripts this is clearly too late. Because of the Sainte-Chapelle accounts of 1318<sup>27</sup> Honoré is usually presumed to have

been dead by then and his work in the Nuremberg manuscript must surely come before that in Philip IV's Breviary and *La Somme*. Thomas of Hereford was translated in 1287, an event which had meant effective canonization in the earlier Middle Ages. An urgent petition to Rome to raise him to the altars was made in 1290, but despite renewed requests in 1299 and 1305 it was not until 1307 that the papal commission was appointed which led ultimately to the decree of 1320. In the circumstances it is permissible to accept that Thomas's name could have appeared in a litany, especially in so 'personal' a liturgical manuscript as a Book of Hours, after 1287 and to conclude that in the Nuremberg manuscript it did. Litanies themselves tend to be very 'personal' items and we would expect that Thomas's presence in the one under discussion implied a definite devotion to him by the person for whom the Book of Hours was made. That this was a woman is assumed from the use of the feminine gender in prayers in the manuscript and from the representation on fol. 179*b*, in the initial at the beginning of the gradual psalms, of a woman climbing up steps to the Almighty. We make the suggestion that she was Margaret, daughter of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who married Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, in 1272. She was separated from him in 1294 and died in 1312. Her husband had been named after Edmund Rich and venerated him as his patron saint. He was also a close friend of Thomas Cantelupe, who bequeathed his heart to him. A date between 1287 and, presumably, 1294 would be most suitable for the place of the illumination in the Nuremberg Hours in the sequence of Honoré's work.

There are twelve full-page miniatures in the Hours (fol. 16*b*, 17, 18*b*, 19, 20*b*, 39*b*, 57*b*, 62*b*, 66*b*, 69*b*, 72*b*, 78*b*), one half-page one (fol. 19*i*), and six historiated initials (fol. 22, 83*b*, 104, 139*b*, 158, 179*b*). All may be attributed to Honoré and in them we see his artistry 'filling out' and revealing new potentialities. It is not just that he has generally more space in which to manoeuvre than he had in the Lectionary or the Gratian. Even in the historiated initials in the Book of Hours he has made commensurate advances. The figures in the funeral scene on fol. 179*b* exhibit a degree of characterization which is far more convincing than the manifestations of this in the Lectionary. Rather than of characterization it is of caricature that we might speak. The distinction is important, for it was inevitably by way of caricature that the graphic arts in the Middle Ages moved from conventional to natural expressions and attitudes. This development was taking place in England and France in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and in the latter country it was Honoré who perfected it. If we look at the miniatures in the Nuremberg Hours we see many expressive faces and gestures, but the over-all result is not as good as it was to be in *La Somme*. Honoré is not yet able to manage his characterization satisfactorily. Not unnaturally therefore in the Nuremberg miniatures it is the minor

characters that tend to be the most effective. In the Last Supper (fol. 72*b*) or the Ascension (fol. 69*b*) it is the apostles further away from the central actors in the drama who are the most successful. The latter: Christ, St. John, St. Peter, or the Virgin are still relatively restrained and posed. Only a 'central actor' of the type of Judas Iscariot in the Last Supper can be permitted relaxation, but here Honoré lets go of the reins too much and the consequence is frankly comic. We may compare a similar comic or grotesque expression on the face of the workman removing the nails from the cross in the miniature immediately above. As a whole, however, Honoré's characterization has become much more 'full-blooded' and has left the Psalter of St. Louis and the Psalter and Hours of Isabelle far behind. He is able in the Nuremberg Hours to display multiple emotions in one scene or presentation, which he was not in the Lectionary. As a good example of this in the Hours we may cite the subtle variations in the faces of the sleeping apostles in the Agony in the Garden (fol. 78*b*).

Characterization is only a part of dramatic presentation, something at which Honoré was becoming increasingly good in the Nuremberg Hours. He was discovering himself as a skilful portrayer of action and violent movement. Even Pucelle never surpassed him at this. The Mocking of Christ in the Nuremberg Hours (fol. 57*b*) may be old fashioned by Pucelle's standards, but it is unquestionably a more powerful rendering than any of his Passion scenes. Even the pairs of saints, in all but one case two pairs to a page, in the prefatory miniatures at Nuremberg are shown in dialogue with each other. A particularly clever composition is the combined representation of the Resurrection, the Harrowing of Hell, and the *Noli me tangere* on fol. 57*b*. The first and third scenes are to the left and right of the same field, in the centre of which the Harrowing of Hell takes place within a Gothic aedicule. Honoré is not able to give any depth to the interior of this, but it is definitely an inset. Its nature is, however, that of a projection from the picture surface, and from what has been said earlier we shall not be surprised at this. There is here already the idea behind all Pucelle's developments in compositional combination. Honoré's representation which we are discussing does violence to chronology, but this too is an example of his progressiveness and experimentation. It is paralleled by another feature of the Hours, namely the way in which the joys and sorrows in the lives of Christ and his Mother are contrasted within the cadre of one miniature. Pucelle was to perfect this technique, but the idea is there in the Nuremberg Hours, awkward perhaps and lacking co-ordination, but it is there. Certainly the contrasting of the Entombment with the Finding of the Empty Tomb (fol. 78*b*) is very good. Even more so is the contrasting of the Crucifixion with the Ascension on fol. 69*b*.<sup>28</sup>

Because it was illuminated by Honoré we naturally assume that the Nuremberg Hours was executed in France. The character of its script and the nature

of some of its contents are by no means objections to this. English scribes were not unknown in Paris in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries and it should not have been hard to tailor liturgical texts there for English needs. Also, English liturgical features could presumably be supplied by the customer if a book was made to order. Alternatively, the manuscript could have been executed in England, something which Vitzthum thought very likely and which would imply a visit to this country by Honoré. It is even open to surmise that the book could have been written in England, but illuminated in France. We shall never know the answer, but at least the English connections of the Nuremberg Hours point to what can explain the development of Honoré, namely the influence of England. It is in English painting in the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century that a new spirit and tradition had emerged, to which we may look for the inspiration of Honoré's later manner. Book illumination in the sense in which we have contrasted it with book illustration had appeared in England c. 1250 with the making of such manuscripts as the Trinity and Paris Apocalypses, MSS. R. 16. 2 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge,<sup>29</sup> and fr. 403 in the Bibliothèque nationale<sup>30</sup> respectively, and the Evesham Psalter, Add. MS. 44874 in the British Museum.<sup>31</sup> With the Oscott Psalter, Add. MS. 50000 in the British Museum,<sup>32</sup> and the Douce Apocalypse, MS. Douce 180 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford,<sup>33</sup> both datable c. 1270, it came into its own and was to dominate the production of illuminated manuscripts in England ever after. Honoré's work in Philip IV's Breviary and Millar's *La Somme* may be described as the result of a graft from the illumination of the English 'Court school' of c. 1270, which centres on the Oscott Psalter and the Douce Apocalypse, into the illumination of the French 'Court school' of St. Louis. To characterize the difference between the two traditions we may employ a statement by Eric Millar, which he actually made speaking of the thirteenth century as a whole, namely that 'there is . . . in the main a vigour and forcefulness in the purely English work, particularly in the drawing of the faces . . . to which there does not seem an exact parallel in the more refined and delicate French types'.<sup>34</sup>

Vigour and forcefulness are the very things that we have been finding in the fully developed Honoré in contradistinction to 'traditional' French Gothic. If we now look for detailed relations between him and English work, we find an immediate one in the representations of single saints, apparently apostles, amongst the prefatory miniatures in the Oscott Psalter. These naturally recall the single saints in the Nuremberg Hours. The idea of such a series, we might describe it as a series of icons, appears to be unknown on the Continent of Europe before Honoré. The Oscott apostles appear one to a page, but the representations are arranged to form pairs of figures in dialogue in a manner similar to that we found in the manuscript at Nuremberg. Liveliness is imparted to the Oscott apostles particularly by exaggerated gestures and poses. The latter

are very striking and their technique of swaying, on occasion contorted, postures was a feature of English painting of the period. If we like to look away from illumination for a moment, we may cite the figure of St. Peter on the Westminster retable;<sup>35</sup> and on the retable too we find gestures of the kind we have noticed in the Oscott Psalter. Exactly similar techniques for increasing the liveliness of figures who are not performing any important dramatic action in their own right were adopted by Honoré for the Nuremberg saints and passed into his stock-in-trade. By comparison his earlier figures, in the Tours Gratian or the British Museum Lectionary, seem rigid and make conventional gesticulations. The direct descendants of the Nuremberg saints are the personifications of virtues and vices in *La Somme*. As an extension of 'attitudinizing' we notice especially in *La Somme* how figures may have a raised hand or arm covered with a fall of drapery. This device is another noticeable feature in the Oscott Psalter. It is an example of English painters' especial interest about the third quarter of the thirteenth century in experimentation with surfaces and planes of colour. The result is a considerable improvement in the treatment of form in the covered parts of the body. Just such an improvement was effected by Honoré. Indeed we may claim that he was the first who introduced into Gothic painting in France a true concern for form. His methods in this respect were essentially those worked out by English craftsmen.

The style of the Oscott Psalter is further developed in the miniatures decorating the *Douce Apocalypse*, which is datable before 1272. Voices have been raised to suggest that the *Douce* artist may have been a Frenchman or trained in France, a hypothesis which we must confess our inability to understand. The miniatures in the *Douce Apocalypse* incarnate superlatively Millar's dictum, which we have quoted, about English painting and we can see no place for them in the sequence of French painting or anything there which could be their parent stock. They are far removed and in complete opposition to the preciosity of the St. Louis school and a perfectly good English pedigree can be made out for them. The *Douce Apocalypse* is the closest of all surviving English illuminated manuscripts to the later manner of Honoré. Its style is more painterly than that of the Oscott Psalter. Colours are richer and softer and there is even more delight and expertise in the manipulation of coloured surfaces. In Philip IV's *Breviary* and *La Somme*, Honoré indeed was to reach greater heights of painterliness than any that had been achieved in England, but it can only have been from this country rather than from what Porcher has called the 'extreme aridity'<sup>36</sup> of French illumination than he can have learnt to model with colour. As we have hinted, the English interest in colour is particularly exemplified in the treatment of drapery c. 1270 and the drapery in the *Douce Apocalypse*, with its deep 'Gothic' folds and sweeping contours, is very close to that in Philip IV's *Breviary* or *La Somme*. In the Nuremberg Hours Honoré's

treatment is less advanced than that in the Douce manuscript. What most links this work to the later Honoré, however, is the interest in it in movement and dramatic presentation, and the highly developed rendering of faces that occurs in it. The compositions in the Apocalypse show a real understanding of rhythm and visual direction, things which are taken up by Honoré in the Nuremberg Hours. The representation of the Agony in the Garden on fol. 78b there contains the best examples of them. We draw attention to the diagonal line formed by Christ and the Father, the horizontal one formed by the sleeping apostles and the contrast of these 'straight' directions with the broken lines of the ground. Faces in the Nuremberg Hours, however, are not so close to those in the Douce Apocalypse as are the faces in Philip IV's Breviary and *La Somme*, a fact which makes us wonder if there was only an isolated contact with England by Honoré, witnessed to by the Hours, or whether the contact was more prolonged. The faces of the figures in the Nuremberg manuscript are still recognizably developments of those of the figures in the Tours Gratian and the British Museum Lectionary. In the Breviary and *La Somme* there is a degree of realistic expression which had previously appeared only in England.

In the title of this essay is hidden the theme of its conclusion. Honoré exemplifies the changeover from 'art history without names' to art history as a biographical study. The changeover is one of the fundamental differences between Gothic art and that of previous periods in Europe. It marks a vital change in the function of the artist, his emergence as a person and his greater freedom from tradition. Honoré is the first individual artist in French painting and the first to show original development. When we think about it, it seems more than accidental that we know his name and address, and economic status. In England painters had earlier emerged as personalities. Matthew Paris is perhaps the first to do so and all the great works of illumination in England in the last three-quarters of the thirteenth century may rightly be seen as manifestations of individual genius. Of course, we must not carry our generalizations too far. Romanesque artists had been capable of development—we think, for instance, of Goderannus of Stavelot as one whose name and address, and status, are known to us—but their development is of a different order. The great Romanesque painters improved and varied their techniques but they did not revise themselves. In its way the illumination of the Court school of St. Louis, reflecting the character of the man who inspired it, looks back to earlier ideals. It is 'neo-Romanesque' rather than true Gothic. Honoré is the first full Gothic painter in France. He it is who is the real forerunner of the Northern Renaissance in painting. When we speak of the vital part played by Jean Pucelle in the movement towards this Renaissance, we must never forget Pucelle's great debt to Honoré. Time and time again in the work of Pucelle and his successors we find reminiscences of Honoré. Pucelle's facial types for instance were always

essentially those perfected by Honoré, as reference to *La Somme* will show. It is no exaggeration to say that the legacy of Honoré is the strongest single component in French painting from the end of the thirteenth century down to the Renaissance.

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<sup>1</sup> *Burlington Magazine*, December, 1906, pp. 186-91.

<sup>2</sup> Correspondence relating to the transaction is Add. MS. 54323, fols. 52-75.

<sup>3</sup> *An Illuminated Manuscript of La Somme le Roy attributed to the Parisian Miniaturist Honoré*, 1953.

<sup>4</sup> *The Parisian Miniaturist Honoré*, 1959.

<sup>5</sup> Printed by Anthoine Verard 'sus le pont nostre dame, paris' in (?) 1488. The date usually quoted for the compilation of *La Somme* is 1279, but as certain manuscripts add to the colophon, which mentions the year, the phrase 'ou mois de mars', we have followed E. Brayer, 'Contenu, structure et combinaisons du *Miroir du Monde et de la Somme le Roi*', *Romania*, lxxix, Paris, 1958, p. 2, in dating it 1280.

<sup>6</sup> See further L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, i, Paris, 1907, p. 238.

<sup>7</sup> See V. Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1934, ii, pp. 465-75 and planches xii-xvii; also Millar, *La Somme*, pl. xv and Honoré, pl. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Notice de douze livres royaux*, Paris, 1902, pp. 57-63.

<sup>9</sup> *La Somme*, p. 2 and pls. xviii, xix; Honoré, pl. 2.

<sup>10</sup> F. de Mély, *Les Primitifs et leurs signatures: Les Miniaturistes*, Paris, 1913, pp. 36-53.

<sup>11</sup> Richard was taxed with Honoré in 1292 and in 1318 he appears with Jean de la Mare, 'his associate', as having illuminated three antiphonals for the Sainte Chapelle; see *La Somme*, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>12</sup> Facsimile edition: H. Omont, *Psautier de Saint Louis*, 1962.

<sup>13</sup> Facsimile edition: S. C. Cockerell, *A Psalter and Hours executed...for...probably...Isabelle of France*, London, 1905.

<sup>14</sup> *La Somme*, pl. vii; Honoré, pl. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Facsimile edition: S. C. Cockerell, *The Book of Hours of Yolande of Flanders*, London, 1905.

<sup>16</sup> See *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, ser. ii, British Museum, 1923, pl. xx; G. Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 32-9, Tafeln v, vi.

<sup>17</sup> Leroquais, op. cit., pl. xv.

<sup>18</sup> *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1963, pp. 108-10.

<sup>19</sup> Vitzthum, op. cit., pp. 18-24, Tafel ii; J. Porcher, *French Miniatures from Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1960, pl. xlvi.

<sup>20</sup> C. R. Morey, B. da C. Greene and M. P. Harrsen, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts held at the New York Public Library*, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1933-4, no. 57, pl. 52; W. D. Wixom, *Treasures from Medieval France*, Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio, 1967, pp. 168-71, 364, 365.

<sup>21</sup> Vitzthum, op. cit., pp. 24-7, Tafel iii.

<sup>22</sup> p. 65.

<sup>23</sup> Delisle, *Recherches*, op. cit. i, pp. 198-208; Vitzthum, op. cit., pp. 47-54, Tafel ix; *La Somme*, pp. 7-11, pls. xx-xxii.

<sup>24</sup> Evidence of a later connection with England is provided by an entry on fol. 229b, in a hand of the early fifteenth century: 'La liver du roy du france charles: Done a madame la Roigne dengleterre.' The king is presumably Charles VI, and the queen one of his daughters, either Isabel, wife of Richard II, or Katharine, wife of Henry V.

<sup>25</sup> We would like to thank Mr. C. Hohler for valuable help in connection with the calendar and litany in the Nuremberg manuscript.

<sup>26</sup> See Delisle, *Recherches* op. cit. i, p. 205; and further C. Hohler, 'St. Osyth and Aylesbury', *Records of Bucks*, xviii, 1966, pp. 61-72.

<sup>27</sup> See note 11 above.

<sup>28</sup> *La Somme*, pl. xxii (b).

<sup>29</sup> Facsimile edition: M. R. James, *The Trinity Apocalypse*, Roxburghe Club, 1909.

<sup>30</sup> Facsimile edition: L. Delisle and P. Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en français au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1901.

<sup>31</sup> D. H. Turner, 'The Evesham Psalter', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxvii, 1964, pp. 23-41.

<sup>32</sup> D. H. Turner, *Early Gothic Illuminated Manuscripts in England*, British Museum, 1965, pp. 25-7, pls. iii, iv, and xiii; *Illuminated Manuscripts exhibited in the Grenville Library*, British Museum, 1967, no. 18, pl. 5.

<sup>33</sup> Facsimile edition: M. R. James, *The Douce Apocalypse*, Roxburghe Club, 1922; see also A. G. and W. O. Hassall, *The Douce Apocalypse*, London, 1961.

<sup>34</sup> English Illuminated Manuscripts from the X<sup>th</sup>

to the XIII<sup>th</sup> Century, Paris and Brussels, 1926, p. 44.

<sup>35</sup> M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 1965, pl. 118.

<sup>36</sup> Op. cit., p. 48.

## THE 'SPANISH FORGER'

THE identity of the 'Spanish Forger' remains obstinately shrouded in mystery, although his existence was recognized as long ago as 1930 and some of his work is demonstrably at least seventy years old. He owes his name to Belle da Costa Greene of the Pierpont Morgan Library, who began to collect references to his work some forty years ago. Her original list, now kept up by John Plummer, has been increased to a total of about forty-six items, of which fifteen are panel paintings, twenty-five are separate miniatures on loose leaves of vellum, and the remaining six are manuscripts containing more than one miniature.<sup>1</sup> The 'Spanish Forger' miniature from Dr. Millar's collection (Add. MS. 54248; Pl. xxi) is the third to be acquired by the British Museum. One was bought privately in 1966 (Add. MS. 53783; Pl. xxii) and another was purchased as genuine as long ago as 1905 (Add. MS. 37177). Several further examples have been brought to the Museum for examination during the past four or five years, and two fine specimens were sold at Sotheby's in July last year.<sup>2</sup> An extensive list of published examples was compiled by Otto Kurz for inclusion in his book on fakes in 1948.<sup>3</sup>

In view of the interest aroused by his paintings, it is remarkable that so little has actually been discovered about the activities of the 'Spanish Forger'. We do not know where he had his workshop nor exactly when he was producing his not inconsiderable output. There can be little doubt, however, that his motives were strictly commercial. His work is obviously designed to pander to the taste of those who are unfamiliar with genuine medieval art and who are ready to be impressed by a profusion of gold and pretty colours and a general air of the romantic. Dr. Millar's miniature is typical of the Forger's courtly tableaux, which usually feature ladies and gentlemen entertaining or being entertained, often with a 'Disneyland' castle as a background. Two similar examples are reproduced by Kurz and the two sold at Sotheby's were in the same vein. The Museum's other recently acquired miniature (Pl. xxii) represents another of his favourite devices, a narrative picture with religious overtones, of a miraculous event quite unknown to hagiographers. A most impressive one, of unusually large size, which belongs to a gentleman in Yorkshire, was recently brought in to the Museum. It depicts an extremely elegant lady, with a large golden halo behind her head and a second lady respectfully in attendance,

meeting an equally splendid young man who has just dismounted from a white horse. Behind them, a group of horsemen and a pack of eager hounds are pursuing a deer uphill towards the inevitable castle. The whole is enclosed in a border of leaves and flowers. The only one of these 'saintly' miniatures so far known to me in which the subject corresponds to an identifiable event is illustrated in the catalogue of manuscripts in Polish collections which were destroyed during the last war. It showed the martyrdom of St. Lawrence.<sup>4</sup>

The third 'Spanish Forger' miniature at the British Museum is catalogued as representing Hernando Cortés landing in Mexico in 1519.<sup>5</sup> A group of men in Western costume is coming ashore with a large flag and being greeted by an assembly of Red Indians. Two ships are out in the bay, the foreground is filled with exotic vegetation, and the miniature is enclosed in an elaborate floral border with a head and shoulders portrait of the principal character in a medallion in the lower margin. Fortunately two letters concerning the purchase of this particular item are preserved in the departmental correspondence for 1905.<sup>6</sup> It came from a London dealer, W. M. Voynich of Shaftesbury Avenue, who offered it for £75 (though he would have asked 100 guineas from a member of the public) and said that he had bought it from another bookseller, at a high price, as a picture of the landing of Columbus. He himself suggested that it might in fact be meant for Cortés, probably on account of the rather eccentric coat-of-arms on the flag, which appears to quarter the arms of Castile, Aragon, Granada, and Navarre. Navarre was not in Spanish hands until 1512 and Columbus's voyage took place in 1492. Voynich thought that the miniature might have been a frontispiece to Cortés's official report to the King of Spain, but he had been unable to trace such a manuscript in any Spanish archive. It passed the scrutiny of G. F. Warner, but he did question its provenance and Voynich wrote again to say that it had come to England from a dealer in the south of France. He seemed to have had it either from a Basque or from a 'Polish Count', but the English bookseller who sold it to Voynich had said that the transaction was so long ago that the French dealer's name and address were no longer available. This provenance, particularly the reference to a Polish count, is not very convincing.

A source for this miniature has since then been identified. The figures are grouped in the same way as in plate ix of T. de Bry's *America*, part iv, first published in 1594, and the ships appear to be modelled on plate xii in the same book. It is worth noting that the forger has altered the costumes, which were contemporary with the date of the book's publication, to a style more in keeping with the date of the actual event. The de Bry woodcuts illustrate the landing of Columbus and it is clear from a sketch map on the back of the miniature, also spurious, that Columbus is in fact portrayed, in spite of the flag. The map shows the Atlantic Ocean and the West Indies, and the Fortunate Isles (Canaries),

San Salvador (Watling Island), Cuba, and Haiti, all visited by Columbus on his historic voyage, are particularly marked.

In the J. F. Lewis collection at the Philadelphia Free Library are several miniatures by the 'Spanish Forger'. Three are of a 'historical' nature, similar to the Columbus miniature. These, together with an Adoration of the Magi, were bought by Lewis in 1923 from the estate of Clarence D. Biment.<sup>7</sup> They depict Crusaders in chain mail, riding into (?) Jerusalem; the siege of a city, also perhaps Jerusalem, by heavily armed troops, under a lion banner presumably meant to indicate Venice; and the triumphal entry of an armed knight and his lady into a city, at the head of a procession which includes a banner charged with three fleurs-de-lis. All these miniatures, including the Adoration, have decorated borders. None of the three 'historical' scenes can be identified with any real event. The Free Library also possesses a pair of miniatures showing the Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt and the Calling of Sts. Peter and Andrew, and two imitations of the large historiated miniatures usually found in choir books—a capital N containing the coronation of a queen, and a G surrounding a saintly lady and her attendant, in a small boat with two sailors and a trumpeter, watching over a little shrine.

It has been suggested that the 'Spanish Forger' was active about 1900, that he was indeed a Spaniard or, alternatively, that he was a Frenchman, and that the paintings which have been identified as his work are really the product of more than one hand. Is it possible to deduce anything more definite from his known work? Certainly the style varies considerably. The 'historical' paintings tend to contain many figures and on a much smaller scale than the few figures in such examples as the Millar miniature. The figures in the latter have a monumentality equal to the larger-scale work in some of the panel paintings. The 'historical' figures are correspondingly less well finished. But the forger seems to have a strong tendency to repeat his favourite groups, albeit changing their costumes and their relationships to their surroundings. Two trumpeters leading the Crusaders into Jerusalem, seen in three-quarter back view, riding out of the scene to the right with their instruments raised skywards, exchange chain mail for fifteenth-century tunics and feathered hats and reappear first at the head of the French triumphal cavalcade, also in the Lewis collection, and again, this time under enormous plumes, in a third procession on panel in the Fogg Museum.<sup>8</sup> It is possible that they originated as adaptations of the trumpeters in the calendar scene for May in the Grimani Breviary, in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. The central figure in the Lewis cavalcade, wearing armour and mounted on a caparisoned charger, is also, with suitable modifications, the central figure on the Fogg panel. He and the canopy carried over him in the Lewis miniature, seem to be based on a miniature of Louis XII riding in triumph into Genoa, which has been attributed to Bourdichon.<sup>9</sup> The chief of

the Crusaders is adapted from the same figure. Another panel, reproduced as plate 37 in Max Friedländer's *On Art and Connoisseurship* (1942), also shows a procession, this time with a lady as the central figure. She, with her three mounted female attendants and the servant at her horse's head, is transplanted, in different dress, into the Lewis cavalcade, where she is positioned behind the knight and her servant becomes one of the bearers of the canopy. Another figure much in favour with the forger is the lady holding up her flowing skirts with her left hand and gesturing with her right. She appears in all three of the panels reproduced in the *Connoisseur* in 1946<sup>10</sup> and is also to be found as the leading character in the 'saintly' scene now in Yorkshire. The frequent re-use of these figures suggests that all the paintings have a common origin and the number of examples so far identified is not really large enough to justify a division between several artists.

Basically the style of the 'Spanish Forger' could be derived from elements in French, Flemish, Spanish, and some Italian manuscript work executed during the second half of the fifteenth century. The sharply defined drapery folds might owe something to Vrelant and can also usefully be compared with the drapery style of the Dyson Perrins Spanish Hours.<sup>11</sup> It is quite possible that Tietze is right and that the general effect of hardness (and the smooth doll-like faces) is really due to copying almost exclusively from reproductions.<sup>12</sup> Three of the panel paintings had been attributed, in all seriousness, to named fifteenth-century artists before their true origin was recognized. The one which first attracted Belle da Costa Greene's attention was reproduced on the cover of *Art News* for 14 December 1929 as the work of Jorge Inglès (active in Spain 1440–50 but English by birth). This accounts for her choice of a name for the forger. The Cincinnati Museum owns a delightful triptych, one of the forger's most charming creations, which used to be exhibited as the work of Jean Fouquet. Another small panel was enthusiastically greeted by the *Connoisseur* in December 1945 as the work of a Provençal, Jean Miraillet (1394–1457), and had to be denounced formally six months later.<sup>13</sup> In fact the stylistic evidence, perhaps slightly weighted in favour of France, really amounts to very little and was probably merely designed to have a maximum public appeal.

If all the small indications of nationality in individual works are put together, the result is still baffling. The queen in Dr. Millar's miniature seems to be based on an Italian model, but probably through the medium of a French or English book on costume.<sup>14</sup> The two musicians are definitely German, both drawn from the Manesse Codex which has always been very popular and is frequently reproduced.<sup>15</sup> A miniature of the Annunciation disguised as a unicorn hunt, derived from the *Hortus Conclusus*, which is part of a manuscript bought by Miss Greene for the Morgan Library's collection of fakes, was probably modelled on a German painting since this theme was most popular

in Germany. It actually bears a close resemblance to a panel of the altar-piece at Friesach in Austria.<sup>16</sup> The Fogg panel and one of the Lewis 'historical' miniatures both include the lion badge of Venice, and the border of the British Museum 'saintly' scene and the outlines of the two historiated initials in Philadelphia share a relationship to north Italian quattrocento manuscript decoration. The fleurs-de-lis of France appear in the Lewis cavalcade scene, in the *Connoisseur's* spurious Miraillet and on the tall head-dress of a lady identified as Isabelle of Bavaria (no doubt on account of their presence) whose 'portrait' once graced the Stoclet collection in Brussels.<sup>17</sup> Louis XII has, as we have seen, been used as a model. The miniature of Columbus suggests a Spanish connection, and a coat of arms in the lower margin of the miniature in Yorkshire is a version of that of the kingdom of Sicily (quarterly in saltire, in chief and point four pales, in the flanks an eagle displayed crowned).

Paintings by the 'Spanish Forger' are usually dated to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. The British Museum's Columbus miniature seems to have made the earliest documented appearance, in 1905, even if the time which is supposed to have elapsed between its purchase in France and its sale to Voynich is not taken into consideration. An initial portrait of Joan of Arc, reproduced in a biography in 1898, is mentioned earlier, but it is not easy to tell from photographs whether or not this can be attributed to the forger.<sup>18</sup> A manuscript of Juvenal, with eight miniatures, was offered for sale by a dealer in Leipzig in 1913 and is said to be by the forger. The subjects of the miniatures, difficult to identify with precision but full of courtly activity, certainly sound very typical.<sup>19</sup> In 1914 another 'portrait' was also reproduced.<sup>20</sup> The Isabelle of Bavaria portrait appeared in the *Burlington Magazine* in 1920 and the Lewis 'historical' miniatures were on the market some time before 1923. A number of paintings and miniatures came to light in the 1930s, including Dr. Millar's example which was sold at Sotheby's, 25 July 1938, lot 140, as Italian work of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It fetched 2 guineas. Two panels illustrating the *Connoisseur* recantation in 1946 were described as having been found abandoned in Spain during the Civil War.<sup>21</sup> Examples which have been recognized more recently all appear to have been in circulation for some years. The pair of miniatures sold at Sotheby's last year was in old-fashioned frames and the Museum's 'saintly' scene (Add. MS. 53783) was mounted on an old and battered piece of cardboard. The date of about 1900, proposed by Soria for the 'Spanish Forger's' work, is probably fairly accurate, although it would come as no great surprise to learn that the forger continued to work well into the present century.

Certainly he had every intention of deceiving would-be purchasers. At the end of the last century there were many private collectors whose tastes would have embraced the kind of work in which he specialized, and no doubt he was

well aware of this fact. His attempts at making his paintings look old are, at least to an amateur's eye, fairly convincing. His panel paintings are artistically chipped and worm-eaten at the edges and both gold and colour have a fine network of cracks. Paint in the miniatures is rather thick and also cracked, but the cracking and peeling of their gold is perhaps mainly due to incompetence in preparing the ground on which it is laid. Most convincing to a layman is the obvious antiquity of most of the vellum. Some pieces, including Dr. Millar's, seem to be blank leaves removed from manuscripts and sometimes have ruling on the verso. More frequently the miniature is painted on a leaf or cutting from a large late medieval choir book, the music having been removed from one side to make a space for it. It is particularly interesting to note that Add. MS. 53783 and the two historiated initials in Philadelphia are painted on pieces of the same manuscript, as well as sharing similar border decoration. The music does not come from the same part of the book and it will be interesting to watch for further examples using the same style of decoration, to see whether they too are from this same book.<sup>22</sup> The Yorkshire miniature covers one side of an entire leaf from a very large choir book. The martyrdom of St. Lawrence, formerly in Poland, was of similar size and had similar border decoration, so it is possible that here was another case of two miniatures on material of common origin. Portions of these big old choir books are still readily come by on the Continent, especially in Spain, and the forger may have found it as easy to use old vellum as to procure new, as well as gaining an appearance of authenticity by it. The practice was not peculiar to him, however. It may also be seen in Dr. Millar's miniature of St. Romuald (Add. MS. 54249).

The work of the 'Spanish Forger' is nowadays sought by librarians and by collectors in its own right. It is, after all, both attractive and amusing. Surely someone must soon have the good fortune to find a real clue to the identity of this prolific and ingenious painter.

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks are due to Dr. Plummer for supplying these figures from his list. I should like to note that I have unfortunately not had access to an article on the 'Spanish Forger' published in the Library Bulletin of Dartmouth College in October 1966.

<sup>2</sup> 10 July 1967, lot 37.

<sup>3</sup> Fakes: A Handbook for Collectors and Students, pp. 90, 91, pls. 17, 18.

<sup>4</sup> S. Sawicka, *Straty wojenne zbiorów polskich w dziedzinie rękopisów iluminowanych*, Warsaw, 1952, pl. xliv.

<sup>5</sup> Catalogue of Additions 1900-1905, pp. vii, 369, 370.

<sup>6</sup> 25 October and 6 November.

<sup>7</sup> I am very grateful to Miss Ellen Shaffer for supplying me with photographs and details of the Philadelphia miniatures. They are numbered M 75: 10-12; M 31: 34, 35; M 49: 10, 11.

<sup>8</sup> Acc. no. 1958. 13. I am indebted to Professor Millard Meiss for photographs of this panel and of the triptych in Cincinnati referred to below.

<sup>9</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 5091, fol. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Vol. cxvii, pp. 126, 127.

<sup>11</sup> Now Add. MS. 50004, see *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, v (1965), pl. xli.

<sup>12</sup> H. Tietze, *Genuine and False*, 1948, pp. 70, 71. Dr. Millar's miniature is reproduced in colour.

<sup>13</sup> Vols. cxvi, pp. 98, 123 (with plate in colour), cxvii, pp. 126, 127.

<sup>14</sup> Tietze, *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Now Heidelberg, University Library. The fiddler is at fol. 399 and the zither player at fol. 271.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum*, Münster in Westfalen, 1966, no. 107, pl. 141.

<sup>17</sup> Reproduced in colour in the *Burlington Magazine*, xxxvi (1920), pl. i.

<sup>18</sup> J. P. J. Ayroles, *La Vraie Jeanne d'Arc*, iv (1898), frontispiece. Also used (with another similar specimen) in A. Lang, *The Maid of France*,

1908. Denounced by S. Reinach in *Burlington Magazine*, xiv (1909), p. 356, xv (1909), p. 51.

<sup>19</sup> Described by H. Omont in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, lxxv (1914), pp. 229, 230.

<sup>20</sup> W. M. Valentiner, *Catalogue of the John G. Johnson Collection*, iii (1914), no. 760, pl. 262, described as Burgundian, about 1450.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>22</sup> The coronation of a queen (M 49: 10) is backed by a respond for Passiontide, the ladies in a boat (M 49: 11) by responds for Apostles, and Add. MS. 53783 by part of the music for Epiphany or its octave.

## PIONEERS OF MODERN CALLIGRAPHY AND ILLUMINATION

ONE of the three most richly illuminated manuscripts in Dr. Millar's collection at the time of his death was a sumptuously decorated copy of James Elroy Flecker's 'The Golden Journey to Samarkand' (Add. MS. 54255), written by Madelyn Walker in 1929 and decorated by Joan Kingsford Wood some years later. This is one of eight modern calligraphic manuscripts included in the Millar Bequest, greatly enriching the Museum's collections with a type of manuscript hitherto poorly represented.<sup>1</sup> The group itself is a representative one and has the added bibliographical interest of close personal association with Dr. Millar himself. Three of the scribes, Graily Hewitt, Madelyn Walker, and Joan Kingsford, were his personal friends and their manuscripts were gifts or special commissions. The most recent of the eight items is the address presented to Dr. Millar by the Society of Scribes and Illuminators in 1947, written by Rosemary Ratcliffe and gilded by Vera Law (Add. MS. 54256). Only the earliest of the manuscripts, written by Edward Johnston in 1908 (Add. MS. 54250), lacks the personal touch. It was purchased to round off the collection after the scribe himself was dead.

The flourishing body of professional scribes and illuminators at work in England today owes its being largely to the pioneer work and teaching of two men, Edward Johnston and William Graily Hewitt, both of whom began to practise seriously as scribes in the last years of Queen Victoria's reign. Their own first efforts were made in a very strong Victorian tradition of illuminating. A widespread interest in medieval manuscripts, predictable in the Gothic-prone atmosphere of the mid nineteenth century, had been fostered by such publications as Henry Noel Humphreys's *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (1849),

with its excellent chromolithographic plates by Owen Jones, covering a whole range of manuscripts from the Lindisfarne Gospels to a prayer-book of Louis XIV and with particular emphasis laid upon pure decoration rather than upon the miniatures. Both author and artist of this work put their experience of medieval illumination to practical use. Owen Jones (1809-74), superintendent and co-designer of the Great Exhibition of 1851, was responsible for a modern 'illuminated' decoration used in a number of printed liturgical books, including the *Victoria Psalter* (1849). Noel Humphreys (1810-79), who was also a leading entomologist and numismatist, published *The Art of Illumination and Missal Painting* (1849), with 'a Set of Outlines to be coloured by the Student according to the theories developed in the Work', practical hints for the adaptation of each style to modern use, and an exhortation to the reader, in a period 'lamentably deficient in every branch of the fine arts', to 'inspire himself to rivalry by their study, and not only equal them, but surpass them'. That the illuminating of manuscripts was considered a suitable pastime for young ladies is evident from the many examples which survive. Devotees of Louisa May Alcott may remember a little book of illuminated texts amongst Amy March's contributions to Mrs. Chester's Fair, described in Chapter VII of *Good Wives* (1869).

For Victorian amateur manuscript makers the script was usually only a subsidiary concern. Aspiring scribes not fortunate enough to have access to medieval originals were handicapped from the outset because, before photography came generally into use for reproductions, the only models at their disposal were themselves produced by hand. Even professional facsimilists, working directly from genuine manuscripts, usually failed to copy medieval lettering convincingly because they mistakenly employed the clumsy technique of tracing an outline for each letter and afterwards filling it in with brush or pen strokes. Only William Morris, in this as in so many other fields, produced work which really foreshadowed the future. He was inspired by the direct study of medieval hands, mostly in fifteenth-century Italian humanist manuscripts, and in the short period between 1870 and 1875 he wrote several volumes, the most ambitious an *Aeneid* which was eventually abandoned unfinished.<sup>2</sup> He wrote with a quill, suited in size to the scale of the manuscript, and based the decoration of his books on his intimate knowledge of medieval illumination. Figure studies were several times provided by Burne-Jones and often painted into the manuscripts by Charles Fairfax Murray. Morris experimented with the use of gold leaf, employing medieval recipes with some success. A copy of the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, now in the Museum, is a typical example of his work, written in a small, neat, italicate script and with lavishly gilded decoration reminiscent of his wallpaper and textile designs and of the woodcut borders later used in the Kelmscott Press books, the colouring subdued and semi-transparent.<sup>3</sup>

Edward Johnston's professional career as a scribe began in 1898, rather less than two years after Morris's death.<sup>4</sup> He was introduced to W. R. Lethaby, principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts and one of Morris's closest associates, and by him to Sydney (later Sir Sydney) Cockerell, who had been Morris's secretary and librarian for the last four years of his life. Cockerell, already an authority on the subject, familiarized him with the finest medieval manuscripts at the British Museum and with the work of Morris himself. He also provided him with his first real commission. Lethaby arranged for him to hold a lettering class at the Central School, and in the autumn of 1899 he received his first pupils. In the following year Graily Hewitt, too, became acquainted with Cockerell and was encouraged by him to join the newly established class.<sup>5</sup> Other pupils in that first year included Noel Rooke, Eric Gill, and Florence Kingsford.

The single example of Johnston's work in the Millar Bequest (Add. MS. 54250; Pl. xxiii) is a copy of Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Requiem', written in black and red, dated 10 August 1908. It is an example of the 'black italic' script based on his foundational hand.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Millar bought it from Johnston's daughters, through Cockerell, after it had been included in a memorial exhibition in 1945, Johnston himself having died in the preceding year. Since so much has already been written about his life, work, and influence, there is no need to do more here than comment on Johnston's career where it is related to that of Graily Hewitt, who is represented in the collection by a volume composed of sixteen separate items (Add. MS. 54257; Pl. xxiv<sub>a</sub>, b), some only a few words long, almost all of which were sent (presumably to Dr. Millar himself) as Christmas cards. They show off a variety of scripts, both Latin and Greek, as well as fine gilding and (at fol. 1, Pl. xxiv<sub>a</sub>) two small initials illuminated by Ida Henstock in the style which Hewitt evolved. The last item (fol. 20) is typical of Graily Hewitt, always eager to use his art to grace a personal occasion. Unfortunately the event is not specified, but the message is clear. 'Good Chap!' it reads laconically in beautifully gilded letters on a tiny rectangle of black card.

William Graily Hewitt was born in London, at 36 Berkeley Square, on 20 July 1864, the youngest child and only boy in a family of four. His father, William Morse Graily Hewitt, was a well-known obstetrician at that time lecturing at St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington. In the following year he became Professor of Obstetric Medicine at University College Hospital, where he remained until his retirement in 1887. He died in 1893. Graily Hewitt's mother, Elizabeth Boulton Hewitt, was the daughter of William Hollis of Brunswick Place, Cheyne Walk, Northampton. She survived her husband until 1907. Graily Hewitt junior was sent to Westminster School in January 1880, after a year and a half at Wellington College, and he went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in the Michaelmas Term of 1883. In the following May he was

admitted to Lincoln's Inn, in 1886 he graduated, and on 28 January 1889 he was called to the Bar. In later years he recalled with amusement how he supplemented the meagre income of his student days by knitting a tennis net.

In choosing the Bar as a profession for his only son, Dr. Graily Hewitt was no doubt influenced by the experience and advice of his son-in-law, James Whitehorne, who had married his eldest daughter Ann in 1872.<sup>7</sup> Whitehorne, very little younger than his wife's father, took silk in 1881 and was to become Judge for Birmingham in 1896. Unfortunately what suited him by no means suited Graily Hewitt, who turned his attentions to literature and, towards the end of 1892,<sup>8</sup> published a novel, *The Making of Lawrence Westerton*, under the name of Freke Viggars. The character of the hero, also a young barrister, mirrored that of his creator, for he was:

... not particularly well fitted for the profession his father had chosen for him, being of a somewhat too contemplative and withal unaccommodating disposition. He had entered upon it, after finishing his time at Cambridge and taking an unobtrusive degree, more out of regard for the old man's dying wishes than any great liking for it himself or expectation of more than very moderate success. ... The satisfaction derivable, however, he considered uncommonly disproportionate; and as his heart went out of it the temptations around him began to take a firmer hold upon him.<sup>9</sup>

The temptations to which Lawrence succumbed led the virtuous heroine Doris to regard him as a 'paltry pleasure-seeker', but what Graily Hewitt sought was some permanent outlet for his creative energies. The novel was quickly followed by a number of short stories, published in book form under the title of *Knights of Cockayne* in 1894, and then by experiments with calligraphy, which culminated in the meeting with Cockerell and introduction into Johnston's lettering class in 1900.

The correspondence of Sir Sydney Cockerell, presented to the Museum in 1965, includes a long series of letters from Graily Hewitt, written between 1902 and 1935, which trace his career as a scribe and reflect his approach to his work.<sup>10</sup> These letters record the generosity of Cockerell's help in a practical as well as an advisory capacity. There are references to many manuscripts commissioned by him for his own collection, most of the early ones containing illumination by Florence Kingsford, who became Mrs. Cockerell in 1907. He also frequently helped Hewitt to obtain orders from his many collector friends, so that Hewitt at last ventured to suggest working out a commission arrangement.<sup>11</sup> On more than one occasion Cockerell invited him to write a substitute for a page missing from one or other of his medieval manuscripts. A new first leaf for his twelfth-century St. Alban's Psalter, eventually written entirely in gold, called for a series of experiments over several months in 1909–10, and was at last pronounced ready almost with regret: 'For this sort of work is only just pure delight.'<sup>12</sup> The Psalter is now in the collection of B. S. Cron.

From the beginning of their association, Graily Hewitt was made free of Cockerell's own collection of manuscripts. One which particularly interested him was part of a Book of Hours (the other part was then in the collection of Lord Peckover of Wisbech) written in a formal roman hand by Marcus of Vicenza in the late fifteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Add. MS. 19061 is an example of the same scribe's italic script, and he used the two side by side as illustrations for lectures and in his book, *Lettering* (1930), which he wrote to embody the experience of almost thirty years of teaching at the Central School, where he took over a class from Johnston when the latter began to teach at the Royal College. Fragments of calligraphy in Cockerell's collection of Morrisiana were also attractive to Graily Hewitt, who recognized that, like himself, Morris had drawn his principal inspiration from Italian Renaissance manuscripts. He was overjoyed when, in June 1904, he was commissioned by Charles Fairfax Murray to complete the text of Morris's unfinished *Aeneid*. This, too, seems to have been the result of an introduction from Cockerell. When asked to prepare an estimate for gilding the headlines and capitals he 'quoted as low as I possibly could, because I value the honour of the job so, apart from money making'.<sup>14</sup> He undertook this part of the work in 1909. His admiration for Morris as a pioneer of calligraphy did not diminish as he grew more familiar with his work. The *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* was one of the items for which he asked specially when arranging to visit the Department of Manuscripts with a party from the Royal Society of Miniature Painters in 1921,<sup>15</sup> and in 1934 he contributed an appreciative paper on Morris as a scribe to a meeting of the Double Crown Club, in honour of the centenary of Morris's birth.<sup>16</sup>

Graily Hewitt's greatest practical triumph lay in the recovery of methods used during the Middle Ages for applying gold leaf to vellum. The gilding of his own work is superb and instructions to students are included both in a chapter contributed to Johnston's *Writing and Illuminating and Lettering* in 1906 and in his own *Lettering* in 1930. He followed above all the recipes of Cennino Cennini, and one of the letters to Cockerell describes, as 'a nice new toy', a new gold ground prepared with the aid of a chemist friend, glycerine and golden syrup (a substitute for the medieval 'candy') featuring among the ingredients.<sup>17</sup>

A separate essay could be written about Graily Hewitt's association with printers and printing. In 1905 he wrote out the text for Lady Burne-Jones's edition of her husband's *Flower Book* and the success with which it was reproduced probably encouraged him, two years later, to agree to collaborate in producing a Central School periodical called *The Neolith*. The editors included E. Nesbit and many of the contributors, who included Shaw, Chesterton, Housman, and Sickert, were her personal friends.<sup>18</sup> The magazine only ran to four issues and Hewitt experienced severe difficulties in conforming to what was needed for it, but it gave him a special insight into the problems of mass

production. Twenty years later, in 'an attempt to represent our printed letter-forms with due regard to their creation by the pen and their adaptation for the use of the machine', he designed the Treyford Type and it was used to print his book, *The Pen and Type Design*, for the First Edition Club.<sup>19</sup> He was also connected, from 1902 until it ceased publication in 1935, with St. John Hornby's Ashendene Press. He designed and several times executed initials for Hornby's books, and in 1935 Hornby commemorated their long and happy association by the gift of a fine humanist manuscript from his own extensive collection.<sup>20</sup>

Although Edward Johnston and Graily Hewitt lived and worked in very close contact during the short period between their meeting and the marriage of the former in 1903, it was rapidly apparent that their approach was fundamentally different. Johnston, like Hewitt, did a certain amount of work for reproduction, including the design of type for the Cranach Press and, more widely known, the block-letter alphabet used by the London Underground. But he seems to have been by nature a solitary worker and a stern perfectionist, noting his own faults at the end of a piece of work on several occasions. The medieval conception of a co-operative scriptorium was quite alien to his nature. Hewitt, on the other hand, was ambitious to see his work made familiar and available to as wide a public as possible. As early as the spring of 1904 he was considering working with assistants and wrote to Cockerell for advice:

What I wish is you see, that orders should come not to me as a person, but to me as an establishment, where my acceptance of them would not guarantee my own execution, as in the case of say a bookbinders.

As Johnston seems to think his methods of work do not lend themselves to the bustle of a partnership, I am talking things over with young Gill, for I have thought that a combination of letter makers, pen, brush and chisel, might net a larger pond than a scribe alone.<sup>21</sup>

The aftermath of the First World War brought him the opportunities he needed, first the commemorative scrolls sent in the name of George V to the next-of-kin of the dead and later many massive memorial volumes for individual regiments and organizations. The former commission involved designing the text, which was then engraved by Noel Rooke, and writing in by hand many thousands of separate names. A group was formed for this task:

This job of the next of kin memorial scrolls is an exceedingly honourable one. Besides which, by means of it the craft to which I am so devoted & have lived for these years you know of has at last the means of displaying itself broadcast. It had to be caught for us. 'Authority', acquainted with the rates of pay allotted to the addressing of envelopes, was quite flabbergasted at our estimate . . . but even the original one allows £2 for 500 scrolls which most of the scribes manage in about 20 hours, and under the pleasantest conditions, with no routine or office hours or petty bothers . . . For the work itself is very simple, & indeed perhaps beneath an illuminator, who does not merely consider the honour of it.<sup>22</sup>

The largest of the memorial volumes was that of the R.A.M.C., now at Westminster Abbey, for which another group was formed in 1922. It included Madelyn Walker and Ida Henstock, both of whom executed to perfection the restrained illuminated ornament evolved by Hewitt. This is pure decoration, usually springing from a gilded initial letter, and incorporates flowers, leaves, birds, and insects, often left uncoloured against a painted ground. It seems to combine elements from the initial styles of late medieval manuscripts made in France and England and the 'white vine' ornament of his favourite Italian manuscripts.<sup>23</sup> Madelyn Walker's stay was only brief, but Ida Henstock remained with Hewitt for the rest of his life. Despite failing eyesight, he worked until he died, at the age of 88, in December 1952, outliving his wife, Lilian, by almost a decade. His latest commissions included engrossing the patent of nobility for the Duke of Edinburgh in 1947, which put him among the handful of people who knew what title had been chosen for Princess Elizabeth's husband before it was announced on the day of their wedding. His interest in Greek scripts was a late development, but his proficiency was compared, by the writer of *The Times* obituary, to that of Porson. The examples in Dr. Millar's volume are beautifully executed (Pl. xxvib), though they bear perhaps a closer relationship to type face than to manuscript.

Graily Hewitt's friendship with Dr. Millar was of many years' standing—one of his letters in the departmental archives mentions 'Mr Millar, who is always so helpful to me'<sup>24</sup>—but when actually commissioning new work for his collection, Dr. Millar turned to the second generation of scribes. Six of his modern manuscripts were the work of two scribes. Three were both written and decorated by Madelyn Walker and one by Joan Kingsford (now Mrs. Wood). The other two were written by Miss Walker and illuminated by Miss Kingsford. One of these two, a minute copy of R. L. Stevenson's 'Travel' made in 1932, was commissioned for Dr. Millar's library of miniature books, which has been left to Miss Jane Martineau.

Madelyn Walker, born at Ipswich, studied under both Johnston and Graily Hewitt. She herself then taught at Sheffield School of Art, where Ida Henstock was among her pupils.<sup>25</sup> She worked under Graily Hewitt's direction on the R.A.M.C. Roll of Honour in 1922–4, and executed many private commissions, but eventually decided to enter a convent early in the 1930's. The earliest example of her work in the Bequest is a copy of Browning's 'The Boy and the Angel' (Add. MS. 54251), written entirely in capitals and decorated with a large historiated initial in 'Medieval' style. It was finished in 1913 and she gave it to Dr. Millar in 1926. In 1925 she wrote out for him three poems by Alfred Noyes, 'Come down to Kew in Lilac Time', 'Sherwood', and 'Snow' (Add. MS. 54252). Each begins with a small historiated initial in the style evolved by Graily Hewitt. Of particular interest to the Department of Manuscripts is her

third 'solo' volume, commissioned in 1929 (Add. MS. 54254). It contains *The Times* obituary notice and appreciation of Julius P. Gilson, Keeper of Manuscripts, who had died on 16 June that year, written in a dignified black italic with headings and capitals in red and blue and an occasional golden initial. This little book was given by Millar to Gilson's widow in October 1929 and was returned to him by her sister after Mrs. Gilson died in 1936.

The single manuscript both written and decorated by Joan Kingsford was one of her earliest works, finished in 1926 (Add. MS. 54253).<sup>26</sup> It contains two poems by John McCrae, 'In Flanders Fields' and 'The Anxious Dead', the former bordered appropriately with poppies and the latter with convolvulus and wild roses. The colophon is graced with a bouquet of wild flowers edged mistily with London Pride. The soft colouring of this decoration was inspired by the study of one manuscript in particular, part of a late fourteenth-century treatise on the Vices, written and illuminated in north Italy (Add. MS. 28841), in which there are unusual borders of studies from nature which include flowers and insects. Like Madelyn Walker, Joan Kingsford studied writing with both Johnston and Graily Hewitt, but her illumination relied to a great extent upon the experience of copying from medieval originals, which gave her a special insight into the way in which different illuminators gained their effects. She was also, of course, influenced by close familiarity with the work of her sister, Florence Kingsford, and this is particularly clear in the case of the manuscript of James Elroy Flecker's 'The Golden Journey to Samarkand' (Add. MS. 54255; Pl. xxv). The decoration which she designed for this volume is strikingly similar to the illumination in copies of the Ashendene Press *Song of Solomon*, executed by Florence Kingsford more than thirty years earlier.<sup>27</sup>

'The Golden Journey' was written for Dr. Millar by Madelyn Walker in the autumn of 1929. The text is in a neat minuscule reminiscent of Italian Renaissance work and originally had a colophon which, in true medieval style, included the words 'Misere me'. Dr. Millar did not favour this touch and had the words erased. The gap is now filled by three little mice with long curly tails, nibbling their way along the vellum. They, and the rest of the illumination with the exception of the gilding, were added after a lapse of more than eight years. There are three miniatures and six full-page borders of flowers, fruit, and foliage inhabited by birds and beasts. Sketches for the animals were made at the London zoo and Mrs. Wood remembers in particular the original of the white baby camel in the lower margin of fol. 1*b*, 'dancing round the enclosure, throwing his head back with joy at being alive' (Pl. xxv).

The manuscript of 'The Golden Journey' was finished in the year before the outbreak of the Second World War. Between then and his retirement from the British Museum in October 1947 Dr. Millar added only one item, the Johnston leaf, to his collection of modern manuscripts. His last acquisition for this section

of his library was an illuminated address (Add. MS. 54256) presented to him by the Society of Scribes and Illuminators on 18 November 1947, after he had given a lecture, at their general meeting, on English illuminated manuscripts of the thirteenth century. This meeting was chaired, appropriately enough, by Sir Sydney Cockerell, whose early enthusiasm had done so much to encourage both Johnston and Hewitt almost half a century before. The address, written by Rosemary Ratcliffe and gilded by Vera Law, records Dr. Millar's own long association with the Society and its individual members.<sup>28</sup> He had been elected an honorary member in 1928, when the Society itself was only seven years old, and his books, lectures, and even a small special exhibition arranged for a meeting of the Society at the British Museum in 1939, had done a great deal to help both scribes and illuminators to understand the earlier techniques of their craft.

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<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 54250-7. Millar Bequest xxiv-xxxii. Listed above, pp. 41, 42. Earlier acquisitions are Add. MSS. 40144, 46173, and 50133.

<sup>2</sup> See Anna Cox Brinton, *A Pre-Raphaelite Aeneid of Virgil in the collection of Mrs. Edward Laurence Doheny*, Los Angeles, 1934.

<sup>3</sup> Morris's work as a scribe is described by his daughter, May, in the introduction to vol. ix of *The Collected Works of William Morris*, 1911. The Rubdiydt is now Add. MS. 37832.

<sup>4</sup> For Johnston's life and work see Priscilla Johnston, *Edward Johnston*, 1959, and *Tributes to Edward Johnston, Calligrapher*, ed. C. L. Pickering, Maidstone, 1948.

<sup>5</sup> There is as yet no biography of Graily Hewitt. Material in this article is derived from *The Times* obituary (27 Dec. 1952), from Hewitt's own letters to Sir Sydney Cockerell (now Add. MS. 52721, fols. 117-224), from various directories and works of reference, and from private information. I am very grateful to Mr. David Wacher for permission to quote extracts from Hewitt's letters.

<sup>6</sup> Compare pp. 22, 23 in Edward Johnston's *Book of Sample Scripts*, H.M.S.O., 1966.

<sup>7</sup> The second daughter, Mary, did not marry. The youngest, Katie, became the wife of Dr. Thomas Seymour Tuke. Graily Hewitt the scribe married Lilian Peebles in 1908.

<sup>8</sup> The book is dated 1893, but the accession stamp in the B.M. copy is dated 25 Nov. 1892.

<sup>9</sup> pp. 2, 10.

<sup>10</sup> Extracts from these letters, Add. MS. 52721, fols. 117-224, are hereafter referred to only by their dates. The last, 23 Dec. 1935, is quoted in Wilfrid Blunt, *Cockerell*, 1964, pp. 94, 95.

<sup>11</sup> 5 Apr. 1906.

<sup>12</sup> 13 Apr. 1910.

<sup>13</sup> These now belong to B. S. Cron and to University College, London, respectively. See also a note by Cockerell in *The Book Collector*, i (1952), pp. 80 ff.

<sup>14</sup> 6 Aug. 1905.

<sup>15</sup> Letter to J. A. Herbert, 3 Jan. 1921, in the departmental archives.

<sup>16</sup> *Three Papers on William Morris*, Shenvale Press, 1934, pp. 3-12.

<sup>17</sup> 30 May 1907.

<sup>18</sup> See Doris Langley Moore, *E. Nesbit, A Biography*, 1933, pp. 227-34.

<sup>19</sup> Printed by the Oxford University Press, 1928.

<sup>20</sup> Graily Hewitt bequeathed this manuscript to Dr. Millar, who in turn left it to the British Museum. It is now Add. MS. 54245 (Pl. xv).

<sup>21</sup> 6 Mar. 1904.

<sup>22</sup> 7 June 1919.

<sup>23</sup> See Ida Henstock's initials on Plate xxiv and a 'white vine' initial on Plate xv.

<sup>24</sup> Letter to J. P. Gilson, 20 Jan. 1929.

<sup>25</sup> I am indebted to Miss Henstock for information about Miss Walker's career.

<sup>26</sup> Mrs. Wood herself has kindly given me the details about her work used in this paragraph and the next.

<sup>27</sup> Printed in 1902. Reproduced in *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Books printed at the Ashendene Press MDCCXCIV-MCMXXXV*, Ashendene Press, 1935, p. 48 and in *Two Thousand Years of Calligraphy*, Baltimore, 1965, no. 122.

<sup>28</sup> I am very grateful to the present officers of the Society of Scribes and Illuminators for information about Dr. Millar's connection with the Society.

**T**HOMAS ANSTEY GUTHRIE, better known under his pseudonym 'F. Anstey', is remembered today chiefly for *Vice-Versa or A Lesson to Fathers*, his first book, published in 1882, when its place as a minor classic was quickly established. Anstey's subsequent literary career extended over more than fifty years. By the time of his death in 1934 (he was born in 1856), he looked back upon it in a spirit more of sorrow, than pleasure. His public record is in the posthumously published autobiography *A Long Retrospect*, 1936, dignified, generous, but rather sad, laying more emphasis upon the failures than the successes. A private letter to Mrs. Kenneth Grahame, written a little over a year before he died, expressed his feelings that he had outlived his audience: 'With very many thanks for your interest in mine (*reminiscences*)—which I doubt would be shared by the bright young things of the present day, for whom Victorianism is a synonym for stuffiness.'<sup>1</sup> The acquisition of the mass of correspondence and autograph manuscripts of 'F. Anstey', now numbered Add. MS. 54258–312, which make up the bulk of the literary material bequeathed by Dr. Millar, acts as a reminder of a largely forgotten reputation.

'F. Anstey' was Dr. Millar's uncle. George Millar, a close friend since their schooldays at King's College School, married Anstey's younger sister, Edith. George Millar died in 1889 and Anstey (himself unmarried) assumed a very special role in his nephew's life. Many years later, when Dr. Millar was leaving to fight in India, he wrote: 'You have always been rather a son than a nephew to me....'<sup>2</sup> The long correspondence contained in Add. MSS. 54260–1, 1901–34, is a record of this relationship. Many of Anstey's wide circle of friends were introduced to his nephew. Sir Owen Seaman, then editor of *Punch*, furnished Millar as a schoolboy with one of the earliest specimens in his autograph collection.<sup>3</sup> Later Anstey suggested that M. R. James (a companion on bicycling holidays in France and Germany) might help in obtaining for Dr. Millar a post in the British Museum,<sup>4</sup> and invited Yates Thompson's co-operation in showing Millar his manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> Anstey also took a practical interest in his nephew's own manuscript collection. The letter of congratulation upon his entry to the Museum in 1912 was followed by a present of money to be used in securing a fourteenth-century manuscript.<sup>6</sup> And he kept a look-out for potential additions, in, for example, an outlying antique shop passed on one of his long Sunday walks.<sup>7</sup>

During Anstey's lifetime Dr. Millar had already acquired some of his uncle's literary manuscripts. Anstey wrote a surprised reply to a request for a manuscript made from Oxford in 1907:

I haven't got the MS of my 'Strand' story—and it has probably been destroyed at the office, like most of my MSS, or I would send it to you with pleasure—if I have a MS at

some future time, I will remember your wish—much as it is beyond me to conceive what satisfaction the possession of the original MS of a magazine story by any contemporary writer can give to anybody—In, say a hundred years, it might be worth—well we'll put it, not to be over-modest, at 15/6d—but you will be a trifle too elderly by that time to come into the property. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Subsequent gifts specifically mentioned in the correspondence include: 'Winnie' (1910); *The Man from Blankley's*. (1915); 'Aladdin' (1917). But it is clear that the destination of all Anstey's manuscripts had become established long before his death. As a result virtually all his work after about 1900 is preserved, among it a mass of unpublished material. Many of the earlier manuscripts were destroyed, but there is some record, if sometimes it is very slight, of every aspect of Anstey's output: his serious novels, *The Giant's Robe*, 1884, and *The Pariah*, 1889 (his least successful books); his anonymously published and unjustly neglected early psychological thriller, *The Statement of Stella Maberly*, 1896; his *Punch* parodies, dialogues, and sketches; his plays, and the stories whose style was perfectly summed up by Messrs. John Murray in the title of their 1931 omnibus volume, *Humour and Fantasy*.

The manuscripts of *Vice Versa* have fared comparatively well. The origins of the book<sup>9</sup> were in an uncompleted serial, *Turned Tables; or the Unnatural Offspring*, which appeared in the shortlived undergraduate magazine, *The Cambridge Tatler*, 8 May–5 June 1877 (Add. MS. 54274). A boy and his father magically exchanged shapes but retained their own characters; the pompous father returned to school in place of his son. The story was taken up again in 1880, and the notebook of this date (Add. MS. 54276), shows Anstey shaping and polishing, by writing and rewriting the outline (see Pl. xxvi), setting out time-schemes, and peopling Crighton House School with numerous characters, some of whom were later discarded. In this notebook are the seeds of, for example, the description of Dr. Grimstone, the headmaster, joining in a highly partisan spirit in a game of football, or his thundering denunciation: 'I will not allow you to contaminate your innocent Schoolmates with your gifts of surreptitious sweetmeats; they shall not be perverted with your pernicious peppermints, Sir; you shall not deprave them by the subtle and insidious jujube, or by the cheap but cloying Turkish Delight! I will not expose myself or them to the inroads of disease invited here by a hypocritical inmate of my walls. The traitor shall have his reward!'<sup>10</sup> Although the autograph manuscript has not been preserved, the proofs with a few manuscript corrections, dated April–June 1882, are Add. MS. 54277.

Following the success of *Vice Versa*, Anstey was invited in 1882 to contribute to *Punch* by the editor, F. C. Burnand. In fact his first contribution did not appear until 1886, but *Punch* was to become the centre of his literary activity, the original vehicle for material subsequently collected in book form, or expanded, as *The Man from Blankley's*, into a full-length play.

During the years 1886–97 Anstey was paid a weekly retaining fee as a regular contributor. The group of rough notebooks, Add. 54281–4, are a sketchy record of these early contributions which in many ways broke new ground in *Punch*. Anstey's *Burglar Bill*, 1888, and *Mr. Punch's Model Music Hall*, 1892, exhibit his gifts of burlesque in prose and verse. He contributed to the death of the once fashionable sentimental recitation. The two series of *Voces Populi*, 1890 and 1892, are a comic record of late Victorian manners, although the heavy 'dialect' given to the lower classes, like the Anglo-Indian of *Babu Jaberjee*, 1897, is now unlikely to find favour except as a curiosity of the humour of the period.

There is much information, both in the correspondence, and in the informal portraits of *A Long Retrospect* (Add. MSS. 54311–12), about *Punch* of the period. From 1887 Anstey took a seat at the table. Original colleagues included John Tenniel, Linley Sambourne, George du Maurier, Charles Keene, and Henry Lucy. Bernard Partridge, perhaps the most famous draughtsman of the next decades, was first introduced to *Punch* by Anstey, after he had illustrated the first book collection of *Voces Populi*, 1890. Anstey wrote on 30 May:

I saw your 'Voces Populi' drawings yesterday for the first time and cannot help writing to tell you—if you care to know what I think—how admirably they seem to me to illustrate all that I wanted to convey—I like them all—but I think my favourites are the old Frenchman in the upper boxes & the Billiard players . . .<sup>11</sup>

On 23 October, when the book had been published, Anstey wrote again enclosing a letter of George du Maurier:

The swell butler, the man in the red shirt, the billiard player are as original & strong as they are well drawn—He ought to be 'one of us'—but I am told he's a gifted 'Jeune premier', who only draws for his amusement (& mine) . . .<sup>12</sup>

Burnand followed this up on 13 November with a direct (and promptly accepted) invitation to contribute. From January 1891 it was agreed that Partridge should always illustrate Anstey's articles, and a note against a draft of *Lyre and Lancet* (Add. 54283), 'Personal Appearance of Characters—for Partridge', illustrates the association in practice. Partridge sketched Anstey on the back of menus of *Punch* dinners of 26 June and 27 November 1907 (now Add. 54273).<sup>13</sup> The correspondence, 1890–1932, with him and his wife, contained in Add. 54263–7, is a record of a lifelong friendship.

When Owen Seaman took over the editorship of *Punch* in February 1906 there was some friction between him and the retiring editor, Burnand, who had already been exacerbated by a disagreement with the proprietors. Anstey, unwell and depressed at the time, wrote a characteristically modest and self-deprecating letter to resign his regular seat at the table, although he proposed to continue irregular contributions:

I have felt at intervals ever since I resigned my position on the staff in 97 that by continuing to occupy my place at the board I was putting myself in a rather anomalous position & might be keeping out someone who would be more useful. Still I hesitated before giving up what I always valued as a high privilege.

But now I feel that the time has come when I can hesitate no longer, & that in the interests of *Punch* there should be as many vacancies as possible for the younger generation who are knocking at Mr. P's door . . .<sup>14</sup>

Seaman persuaded him to withdraw the immediate resignation in a long letter, 19 February 1906, in which he said that the latest recruit, A. A. Milne, was not yet ready for a place at the table. Anstey continued to dine from time to time, and attended the dinner for Mark Twain on 9 July 1907. He also continued to write. Many of Owen Seaman's letters in the series now numbered Add. 54272 are concerned with potential contributions. Anstey's last piece for *Punch*, a personal memoir of Du Maurier, was published a week before he died in March 1934.

Although Anstey produced a number of stories, sketches, and articles between the years 1899–1934, his attention during the latter part of his career was increasingly turned towards dramatizations of his work. The numerous drafts of short plays, mainly unperformed,<sup>15</sup> contained in Add. 54295–8, the work for the Drury Lane pantomime 'Aladdin', 1917 (Add. 54299), the eight volumes of adaptations from Molière and other French authors (Add. 54300–7),<sup>16</sup> the draft film scenarios, all unused, Add. 54308–9,<sup>17</sup> and above all the three successful full-length plays, *The Man from Blankley's*, *The Brass Bottle*, and *Vice Versa*, amount together to a very considerable mass of dramatic material. Anstey brought to the work of adaptation a lifelong passion for the theatre, an enthusiasm for writing dialogue and a readiness to fall in as far as possible with the requirements of producer and cast.

*The Man from Blankley's* (Add. 54290) appeared originally as a story in dialogue in *Punch*, 1903. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle urged Anstey to make a comedy of it, which he was able to do only after hitting upon the idea of seating the guests at a round table for the dinner which occupies the whole of an act. This farce of mistaken identity was a success when it opened at the Prince of Wales in April 1901, produced by Charles Hawtrey, with a cast including Holloman Clark, Arthur Playfair, and Jessie Bateman. In 1903 *The Man* played at the Garrick, New York, and toured in the United States, rather unsuccessfully, under Charles Hawtrey's direction. It was revived with many of the original cast by Frederic Harrison at the Haymarket in 1906 (see Pl. xxvii), given for a special benefit matinée in 1917, with the young Gladys Cooper as the heroine, and again revived by J. T. Grein and Nancy Price at the People's Theatre, 1930.

*The Brass Bottle* (Add. 54291) had a similarly successful beginning to its stage career. It was commissioned as a serial for *The Strand Magazine* in 1899, appeared in book form in 1900, and was put on in 1909, after prolonged negotiations,

at the Vaudeville. Nevil Maskelyne staged the trick by which the Djinn returned at the end of the play into the brass bottle and Labhart, maker of animals for pantomimes, constructed the mule into which the bad-tempered professor was transformed. Amid all this professional creation of illusion, Anstey conducted a careful correspondence with the White House Glass Works of Stourbridge about glass rubies, emeralds, and diamonds (Add. 54264).<sup>18</sup> The London run of 244 performances with Lawrence Grossmith and Holman Clark was followed by a provincial and an Australian tour. Subsequent stagings, in New York, 1910, and in a musical comedy version at the Hippodrome, 1932, were a comparative failure. The last of the three, *Vice-Versa* (Add. 54292), was revised during summer 1909, and staged as a Christmas matinée at the Comedy Theatre with Arthur Playfair as Dr. Grimstone. Revivals opened at the Globe, 1911, and at Sheffield Repertory Theatre, 1931.

Anstey's reputation since his death has been kept alive largely by adaptations for cinema, radio, and television of two of these plays. *The Brass Bottle* was last broadcast in 1954, and a film version, distributed in this country in 1964, was made in 1963 by Harry Keller with Tony Randall and Burl Ives. *Vice Versa* itself (which alone remains in print), has been frequently broadcast both entire and in extract, shown on television, and the Peter Ustinov 1947 film version is widely known. It remains to pay tribute to the care with which Dr. Millar looked after his uncle's affairs, as recorded in the mass of business correspondence, 1934–60, Add. MSS. 54268–9.

JENNY STRATFORD

<sup>1</sup> 9 Dec. 1932, Add. MS. 54267.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Dec. 1916, Add. MS. 54260.

<sup>3</sup> 8 Apr. 1906, Add. MS. 54264.

<sup>4</sup> 31 May 1910, Add. MS. 54260.

<sup>5</sup> 7 Dec. 1911, Add. MS. 54260.

<sup>6</sup> 20 Sept. 1912, Add. MS. 54260. This description is unfortunately too scanty for the MS. to be identified.

<sup>7</sup> 11 Feb. 1921, Add. MS. 54261. 'I was walking to Putney this morning & in a shop-window—M. Irving, 47 High St Fulham, I saw an illuminated MS. . . .' This cannot be identified.

<sup>8</sup> 24 Oct. 1907, Add. MS. 54260.

<sup>9</sup> For a fuller history of the writing of *Vice Versa*, see the draft article 'My First Book', Add. MS. 54289, published in *The Burning Bush* [an Eton College magazine], no. 1, 4 June 1928; *A Long Retrospect*, pp. 91–2, 103–5, 109–23. Richard Bentley's letter of refusal, 22 Feb. 1882, and Smith Elder's acceptance, 27 Mar. are in Add. MS. 54262.

<sup>10</sup> *Vice Versa*, 1882, p. 102. Andrew Lang con-

tributed two long unsigned reviews to the *Daily News* and to *The Saturday Review*, no. 1394, vol. 54, 15 July 1882, which ensured an immediate success. In the second of these he pointed out that the 'lesson to fathers . . . is that private Schools are abominations', but doubted that such Schools still existed. 'The Principal seems drawn from life, but from an experience of forty or fifty years ago; David Copperfield might have been sent to Dr. Grimstone had he not been sent to Dr. Creakle. . . .' He particularly praised the account of Dr. Grimstone at football.

<sup>11</sup> Add. MS. 54263. Bernard Partridge acted under the name of Bernard Gould. He played Sergius Saranoff in the first performance of *Arms and the Man*, 1894.

<sup>12</sup> Add. MS. 54263.

<sup>13</sup> The drawing done on 27 Nov. was reproduced in E. V. Lucas, *Reading, Writing, and Remembering*, Methuen, 1932, facing p. 313.

<sup>14</sup> The undated draft was copied and sent 17 Feb. 1906, Add. MS. 54264.

<sup>15</sup> For a note of plays which were performed, see the handlist description of Add. MS. 54296, and cf. Add. MS. 54310.

<sup>16</sup> See *A Long Retrospect*, pp. 375–84, for details of productions including Sir Nigel Playfair's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, 1926. Correspondence relating to it is in Add. MS. 54266. Eva le Gallienne's praise of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and suggestion

for further adaptations is contained in a letter, 16 Apr. 1928, also Add. MS. 54266.

<sup>17</sup> For some information about early film adaptations of Anstey's work, see *A Long Retrospect*, pp. 366–8. The fourth of Anstey's stories to be filmed was *The Tinted Venus*, 1921, made by the Hepworth Co., with Alma Taylor and George Dewhurst.

<sup>18</sup> 15–23 July 1909, Add. MS. 54264.

## THE ERIC MILLAR BEQUEST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS AND DRAWINGS

WHILE Dr. Millar may be said to have assembled his important collection of manuscripts as a scholar and 'professional', the works which he has bequeathed in such splendid quantity to the Department of Prints and Drawings are essentially the collection of an 'amateur'—in the proper sense of the word: the spirit which unites them is one of delight in fine decorative, often humorous draughtsmanship.

The Bequest consists of over three hundred drawings and water-colours, principally of the English school. They fall into two main groups, and for the first at least Dr. Millar himself compiled a catalogue which demonstrates that here, too, his scholarship could apply itself. It consists of some forty portrait drawings by John Downman (1750–1824), together with four of Downman's albums of sketches, a composition illustrating Byron's *The Corsair* (Pl. xxviii) and some sheets from a sketch-book including a design for this illustration. Among the portraits a large half-length of *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, is apparently one of Downman's series of ladies executed as decorations for the set of Arthur Murphy's *The Way to Keep Him*, a play performed at Richmond House in 1787. The unusual size ( $28\frac{3}{4}'' \times 22\frac{3}{4}''$  sight) and scale of the design certainly suggest such a function, although it is hard to imagine Downman's delicate grey and pink chalk (even allowing for the fading and discolouration from which it has suffered) making an effect in the theatre. However, the half-length portrait corresponds closely with a pen-and-ink sketch in volume vi of series 4 of Downman's albums of drawings. This is inscribed by Downman: *Outline. The Duchess of Devonshire 1787./To the whole-length for the Duke of Richmond.* It is therefore possible that the present large drawing is a fragment of one still larger, a more than life-size whole-length portrait in chalks, which must, on the evidence of the same album of sketches, be a survivor of a set of four including Lady Betty Foster, Lady Melbourne, and the Hon. Mrs. Damer (who actually performed in the play). These portraits, and others, were apparently engraved in 1788:

an advertisement in the *World* of 8 February lists: 'Duchess of Richmond, eng. Burke, Duchess of Devonshire, eng. Bartolozzi, Lady Duncannon, eng. Bartolozzi, Lady Elizabeth Foster, eng. Miss Caroline Watson, Miss Farren, eng. Collyer, Mrs. Siddons, eng. Tomkins.'

The Downman material is completed with series 3 of the Butleigh Court albums. This was originally loaned to the British Museum by Lady Longmore but subsequently (1944) bought from her by Dr. Millar. It consists of four volumes, greatly adding to the importance and scope of the Department's Downman collection, which already includes five of the six volumes of series 4.<sup>1</sup>

Among the drawings in series 3 are portraits of Thomas and William Daniell, the artists of *Oriental Scenery* and the *Voyage Round Great Britain* (vol. ii, nos. 13, 14); and the fascinating portraits of the American wax-modeller, Patience Wright (1725–86): a sketch, and a more finished version inscribed by Downman: *Mrs. Wright 1777/The famous Wax-Woman and Republican [sic] from America*. This drawing also bears the title: *LIBERTY I am, and Liberty is—RIGHT/And Slavery do disdain, with all my Might* (vol. i, nos. 15, 16).

Other drawings in the collection throw interesting light on the Downman group. In particular, George Dance, another great portrait draughtsman of the late eighteenth century, is represented by a very fine black-lead portrait of *Charles Pratt, 1st Earl of Camden*, dated 1793, and by *Wang-y-Tong*, a likeness of the famous Chinese boy whom Captain Blake brought to England and educated at Sevenoaks, and whom Reynolds painted in 1776 (this portrait is still at Knole).

It is worth considering in the same context the two lovely black-lead and water-colour heads by J. E. Millais, *Annie* and *Fanny Lynn* (Pls. xxx, xxxi). These are dated 1852 when Millais spent the summer in Kent working on *The Proscribed Royalist*, and the two little girls may be the daughters of the Lynn he mentions in a letter from Hayes as having 'made me a regular artist's shooting-stool, shutting up and portable'.<sup>2</sup> The careful sensitivity of these drawings is in the tradition of Dance and Downman and links it with the three studies by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema of *Betsy Verscheuer* (1899), *Florence Altree* (1901), and *Rose Shaw* (1902) which admirably demonstrate the artist's amazing gentleness of touch and his response to female beauty. A sketch-book by Burne-Jones also contains some portrait-drawings in black lead in which the sensitivity of the artist is seen in its most worthy application; other studies, of drapery and armour, make this series outstanding in Burne-Jones' work. A group of drawings here, of figures holding large globes, appear to be related to the *Days of Creation*, six water-colour panels completed in 1876, which perhaps indicates the period of the volume.

Downman provides the starting-point for the other main group of the Millar collection: his illustration to *The Corsair*, canto III, stanza 9 (Pl. xxviii), already mentioned, is a curiosity which sums up much of the Romantic attitude to

literature and literary illustration, and forms an interesting preface to a large series of nineteenth- and twentieth-century illustrations. In this capacity, it may be compared with Flaxman's wash drawing for a relief, showing the *Adoration of the Magi* (Pl. xxix). This is one of the most important works in Dr. Millar's Bequest: a virtuoso piece of trompe l'oeil draughtsmanship, and a design whose intensity of composition and expression—deriving from Fuseli—contrasts with the sentimentality of Downman's deliberately melodramatic picture, which equally takes its inspiration from Fuseli, the all-pervading genius of the period.

From the strengths and weaknesses of Romantic conceptions like these the prodigious tradition of nineteenth-century illustration sprang. Dr. Millar has provided the Department with examples of the tradition in all its stages, from Dickie Doyle to Edmund Dulac. Some of its chief exponents—including Dulac and Rackham—were hitherto unrepresented in the Department, and their drawings come to us at a time when we can gauge the connoisseurship of a collector whose long-standing interest in them is now confirmed by renewed public admiration. Illustration is an important aspect of English art history, which because of its close dependence on the development of the mechanics of commercial reproduction was responsible for many of the technical innovations which so changed the character of draughtsmanship over the period.

Frederick Walker's highly finished water-colour *The Escape* and J. G. Pinwell's scene from *The Vicar of Wakefield* are fine examples of two of the major illustrators of the 1860s, the 'golden age' of English illustration. They raise the problem of how these artists worked. Both pictures relate to illustrations: *The Escape* was a design for a short story, 'The Magnolia, for London, with Cotton' which appeared in *Once a Week*, 2 March 1862. At that date the artist drew straight on to the wood-block which was then cut by the engraver: the water-colour must therefore be a preliminary design, or, more probably, a later working-up of preliminary sketches. Pinwell's water-colour is perhaps a result of the same process; but it differs in many major details from the illustration (in *Dalziel's Illustrated Goldsmith*, 1865, p. 97) with which it is clearly linked. By 1865 photography was beginning to obviate the direct drawing on to the block, so that the artist could salvage his finished drawing; but if Pinwell's design was treated in this way, he seems to have thought fit to make important alterations to it for his water-colour, which was presumably executed for the purpose of exhibition and sale independently.

Here it is appropriate to draw attention to the intense little rustic scenes of Walker's pupil, Helen Allingham (1848–1926) who has much of Walker's rich, soft texture although her interests are less in strenuous composition than in rural idylls. Her careful drawings of objects are already well represented in the collections, and the present fine group of finished pictures is a welcome extension.

By the 1880s and 1890s, colour processes and the line-block had increased the

scope of the illustrator. The children's books designed by Randolph Caldecott and Kate Greenaway attain a decorative harmony in which coloured illustrations and text combine; Kate Greenaway's cover design for *Little Ann* (1883) is a particularly beguiling example. The Bequest also includes a decorative initial by William Morris for the Kelmscott Press, which represents the theoretician, and in many ways the greatest innovator, of the new movement in book design.

The bulk of the remaining illustrations are for *Punch*. There is a series of du Maurier's jokes, satirical observations of human weaknesses which are more like miniature comedies by Wilde than cartoons. It is unfortunate that they have to be mounted with their captions obscured, since, in a sense, it is the illustration which is superfluous. Du Maurier seems aware of this: his drawings are repetitive and make little attempt to be humorous in themselves; they have the same ingredients as the large 'serious' drawing of 1885 for an article in Harper's *New Monthly Magazine* (May 1886). On the other hand, Phil May (1864-1903) was able to contribute his chance sketches of London life as complete and satisfactory 'jokes' in themselves. Their humour lies in the observation, the spontaneous drawing: the record is so vivid that no caption is required. The row of figures in *A Sketch from Life* (*Punch*, September 1895; Pl. xxxii) singing to 'Slow Music: "We're a rare old, fair old, rickety rackety crew"' is one of the most successful of these *objets trouvés*.

The drawing itself is also the basis of the joke in Heath Robinson's inventions. *How to dispense with Servants in the Dining-Room* is a characteristic absurdity; *Spring-Cleaning in Noah's Ark* (Pl. xxxiv) is much simpler: its aphoristic quality is immediately effective and is achieved in purely visual terms.

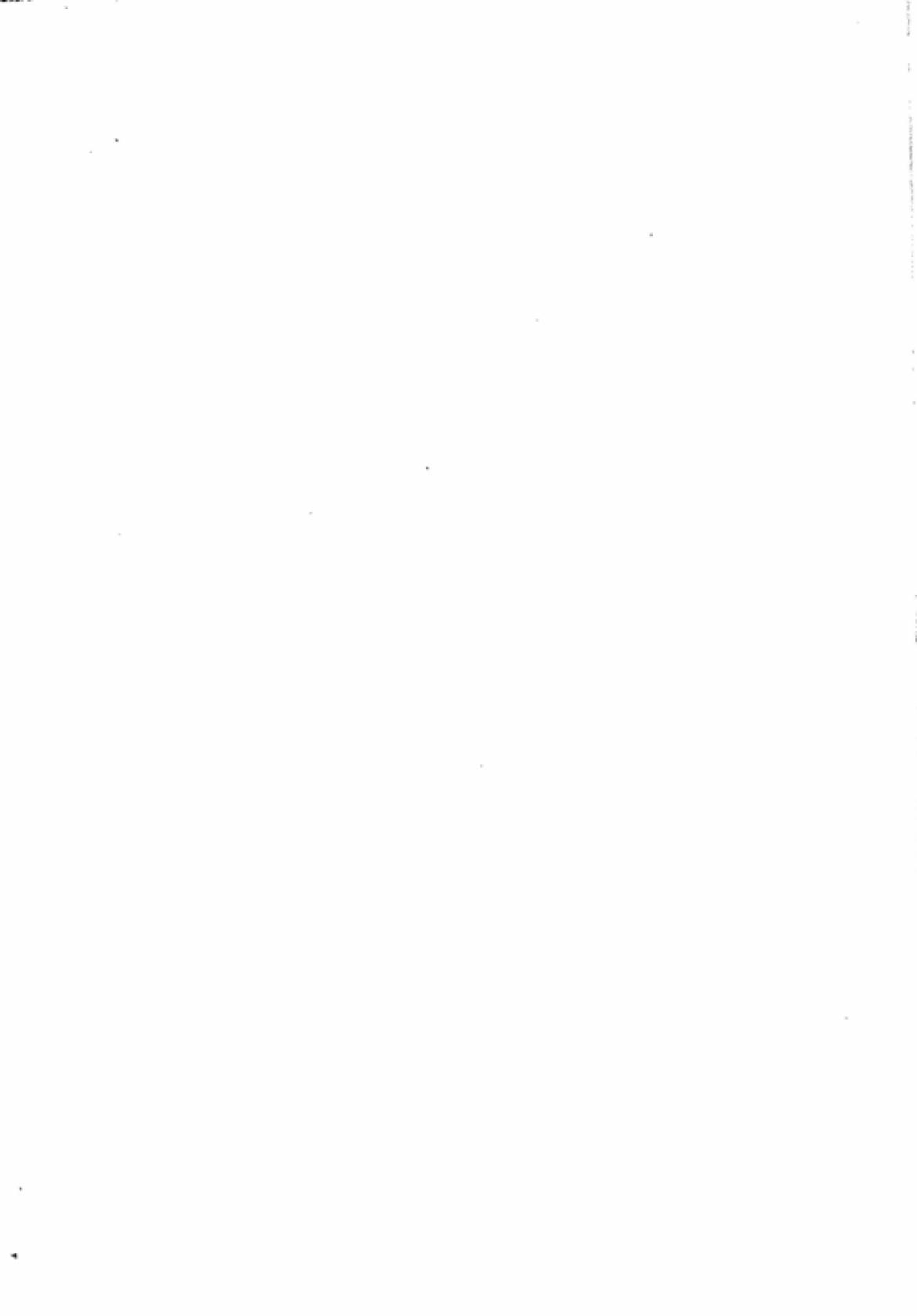
Arthur Rackham (1867-1939) and Edmund Dulac (1882-1954) are also exponents of the fantastic, though their whimsy is more romantic than Heath Robinson's. These illustrators took advantage of the enormously increased sophistication of colour-printing to produce their fairy-tale dreams. Rackham's colour tends, however, towards monochrome and is usually somewhat muddy: his pure line work (some of which appeared in *Punch*) is more satisfying, as perhaps the two illustrations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1908) in the Bequest suggest. But Dulac depends on colour: the fine group of his illustrations in the Bequest includes wonderful examples of his genius for chromatic and linear pattern-making which is both vaguely evocative and precise, and affords, too, the contrast of his gently humorous drawings for the *Arabian Nights*. Particularly interesting is the large and dramatic poster which Dulac executed for a production of *Macbeth* at His Majesty's Theatre in 1911.

George Morrow, another regular contributor to *Punch*, explores not the fantastic but the banal: there may be a common theme between his famous Medieval 'reconstructions' of the 1930s and the scene from *Unknown London* (Pl. xxxiii) which appeared in *Punch's Almanack* for 1914 and is reproduced here: in each

case, the artist is concerned with exposing the unglamorous reality behind a legend. In this instance the reality is one with which Dr. Millar was thoroughly familiar, and which few have rendered as exciting as he has done by his Bequest.

ANDREW WILTON

<sup>1</sup> See article by E. Croft-Murray, *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. xiv, no. 3, 1940, p. 66. <sup>2</sup> J. G. Millais, *Life and Letters of Sir John Everett Millais*, 1899, vol. i, p. 168.



# PLATES





Cest li iardins des iutz. li.vii. arbre senchent les.vii. iutz. dont  
est liutre parle. Li. arbre du melieu senchent ihucrist. souz  
croissent les iutz. Les.vii. fontaines de cest iardin sont les.vii.  
dons du saint esprit qui arousent le iardin. Les.vii. puechs  
qui puissent en ces.vii. fontaines sont les.vii. pentions de  
la paternostre qui empotent les.vii. dons du saint esprit...

III. LA SOMME LE ROY, ILLUMINATED BY HONORÉ: the Seven Virgins watering the trees of the mystic garden. Paris, end of thirteenth century. Add. MS. 54180, f. 69b

oderunt me inique. **A**tem.....

**Q**ui retribuunt mala pro bonis detrahe  
bant michi? quoniam sequebar bona  
**D**e derelinquis me domine deus meus?  
ne discesseris a me.

**I**ntende in adiutorium meum! domine  
deus salutis mee!



**P**onit ori meo cunctum: cum confiteret  
peccator aduersum me.

**Q**obmut & humblatur sum & sum a boni?

IV. THE YORK PSALTER, PSALM XXXVIII: Initial D, King David resisting the Devil (left), and the man who heapeth up riches and cannot tell for whom he will be gathering them (right). England, c. 1250-60. Add. MS. 54179, f. 32b



V. THE YORK PSALTER, DETAIL: PSALM LXVIII: Initial S, the Resurrection and Jonah and the whale. England, c. 1250-60.  
Add. MS. 5479, f. 596



separat amicis vni annis vii decimatis q[uod] nubiles fit. Vnde si  
Lemnos. Da pars separata nescio et ad ea fit mactum. Et ex eis  
minus separatum vel patens vel p[ro]mota. Bona q[uod] ha[bit]at  
hoc mactum platinus. Et h[ab]et pars ultima velutina fija.  
et decimatis et hoc ostendit in hoc libro misere. t. et  
nam mandata. **H**oc h[ab]et autem pars ultima fija.  
et h[ab]et pars ultima velutina fija. Et pars ultima  
h[ab]et h[ab]et pars ultima velutina fija.

nel quod tunc huius ex parte magister regens, quod p[ro]m[on]t[er] est in p[ro]fessoria, sedis in iustitia, tunc in iuste[re] u[er]o p[ro]fessore; Que iustitia q[ua]ndam dicitur in p[ro]fessoria. Iustitia  
mea di. Sedis iustitia. C[on]tra iustitiam certi de Christo  
iuste[re] u[er]o dicitur. Tunc sit iuste[re] dicitur quia h[ab]et auctoritate[m] de Christo.

**Q**uodcumque homines figurantur plus quam in ipsa  
fusca officia missari quod sibi hoc quia in hoc tempore  
contingit et rite et religio pagana huius enim dei libatoe  
prima honestas imploca malorum rusticorum insipientum per  
hunc suum exercitum pietatis purissimam utrarae ministris Specie  
o ventre factum est huius etiam deus cuius deinceps austriacis deo

mentem refusus, quid penitus peti confitetur? dñe  
ne in fiasca ut me? Et aliis mentes m. de magnis, q.  
quid p. penitus refutari? huius. Deinde m.  
quid uita, et m. ut coram p. quod ostendit m. omnes  
dilectio de m. q. m. de m. q. m. de m. q. m.

pentru să învețe să trăiește în cadrul unei  
perioade bune și că. Că într-un cadrul sărbători be-  
neficiuți de adunarea și prezența în formă fizică și  
spirituală a tuturor membrilor agnate locuri difuzând reini-  
ginere și de faptă credință, că în apără unirea și că în

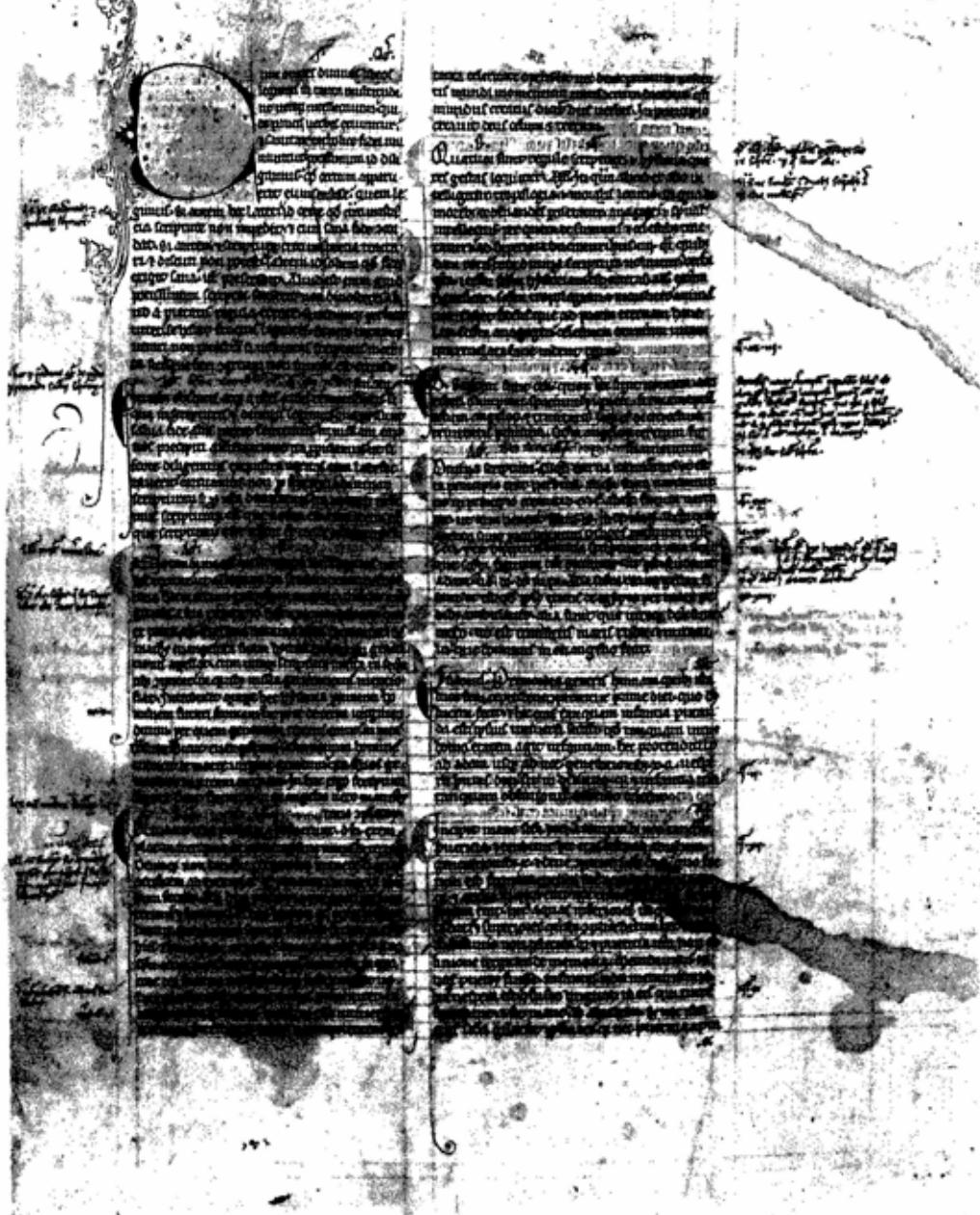
una plante d'herbeau. Vnde deinde regis et plurimi abbas, sed  
prior deo prefecit omnes vocari. [¶] Ius quoque a papa in  
fratres; ut habeant ipsa mea dicta et alios gerentes ipsa  
mea omnes a die post sollempnem et per missam, defuncti  
de patribus et fratibus, et ipsa pena servitaria, ad eum quibus

Etiam reforma gallicana et ita student aperte à magistris  
et clergiis deo glorificare. Ita confidit: non enim  
est in vobis quod sit ergo, quae minima si meo timore. C  
ontra eum tamen tales. Tempore vero, utrumque de istis quo  
rum haec sunt, non satis certum est.

etiam plena et libera pro plurimis diffringentes q̄ formam  
propter hanc etiam servantes sp̄as, confirmatae, haec illud resum-  
bile est nota. Læc enim s̄ tunc diffringentes, si ratiōne ab  
hac dōmine facta, s̄ p̄t hanc diffringentes copiārū vici-  
tate, eam erit liber ex his quæsī sp̄is basū locū di-

adversaria, quia et plena legem accepit, sed etiam floscam  
de mea floscam, non liberae vestrum libenter et per flos  
floscam. Sed utrum in aliis aplatis de his librum est  
liber plenius, si quis libra, longa tunc liber ac liberum  
mentis sed etiam myndus. Sed: protinus et libid  
liber, hinc: liber de cum amictu. Canticum Igitur  
prosternit libet de ceteris impetrare. Benignus  
de aliis libet de deinceps de ceteris. At illi qui

VII. PENTATEUCH, GLOSSED; from the library of the Franciscans at Lincoln (the press-mark of which appears in the top right-hand corner). England, second quarter of thirteenth century. Add. MS. 54231, f. 1





**L**iber sanctus apud be-  
atus misericordia et va-  
ripietatis eius deum  
tempore dominum  
reducere leticie under filo  
us de affirmare quoniam  
proinde sapientie  
naturam emerit in se  
doucenus quoniam la-  
pensis percutit in nos  
de cuius partem con-



**Q**uoniam hunc librum non vobis sed  
mihi et a filiorum ut paratus a filio  
coeternissimo quodammodo inde fuisse consiper-  
quem pseudographiis a falso inservientem  
appellerat quia non a hebreo illud scri-  
pimus cui exponitote presul in bella  
re oculo volumini omni hinc dicit  
in veronam hunc librum apud indeos  
hebreos si habent eorum canigulae  
relegimus si non conseruamus.

**do cuius prout ex** **lumen iustitiae**  
**qui indicans unum sentire de**  
**anno in bontate cuius simplicia**  
**re medis querite illum. An i**

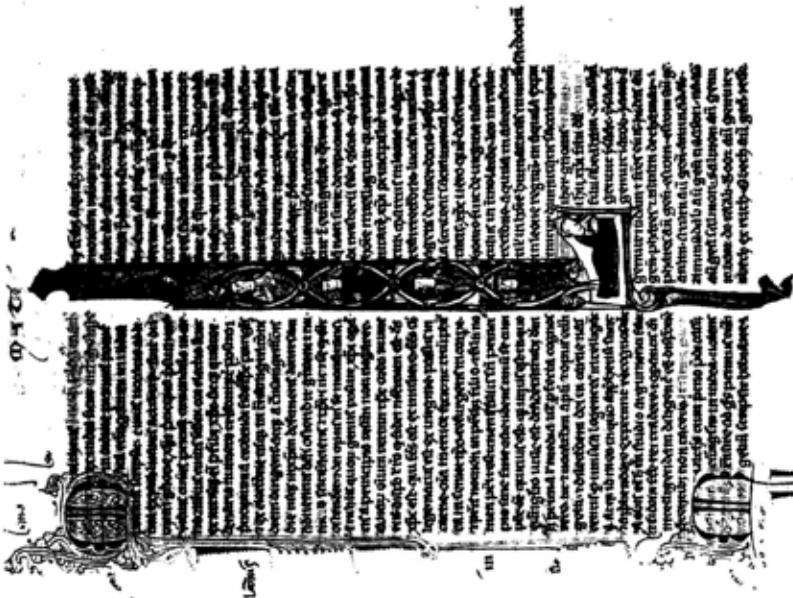
**Deinde** inquit Ihesus nos respondeo? /  
Inquit p[ro]p[ter]e[re] dico enim nobis in heil  
Agens membra ad gloriam dicit d[omi]n[u]s

**venit ab his**  
**qui n̄ temptar**  
**illum. appart**

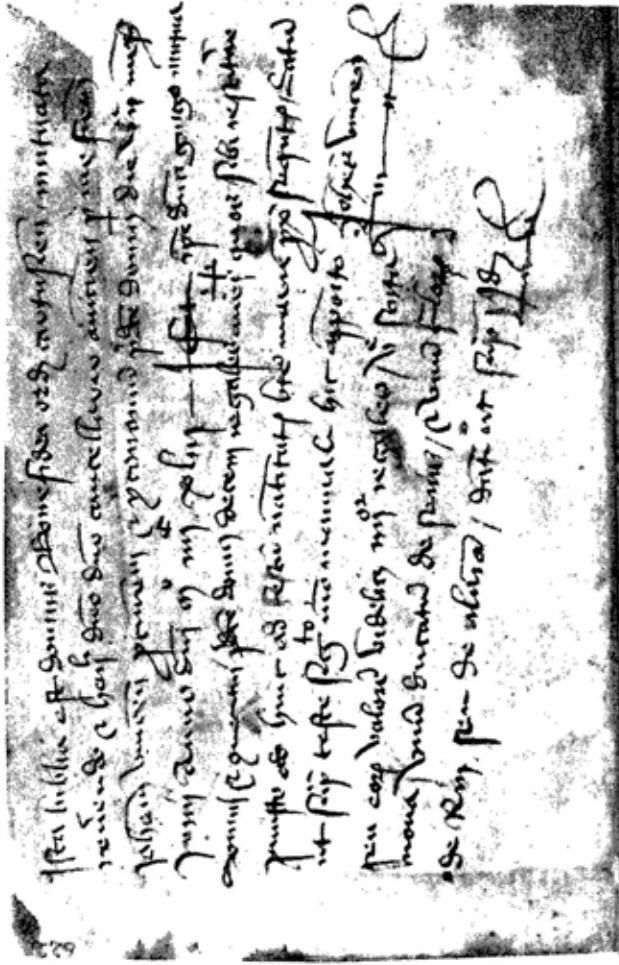
in simplicitate  
coluntur in quiete subiecti et mandata  
caelum deo quod dabo quoniam intelligentia  
intelligere quia seruit deo possit  
humana ratione complice quia insipi  
bestialibus fuit indecra enim inuestigatio

autem qui fidem habent mil-  
lum. Crux enim cognationes  
separant a deo probata autem  
mortalis compit insipientes.  
autem si intromittat sapientia  
ducebat. Opimus enim tam  
sicut et amicorum ea cognatione  
abstinentia a supineniente ut

**Q**ui erit in malitia tua  
habitabit in corpore sub  
terris discipline extinguier  
etur que sit sine intellectu  
et iniquitate benignus es



(a)



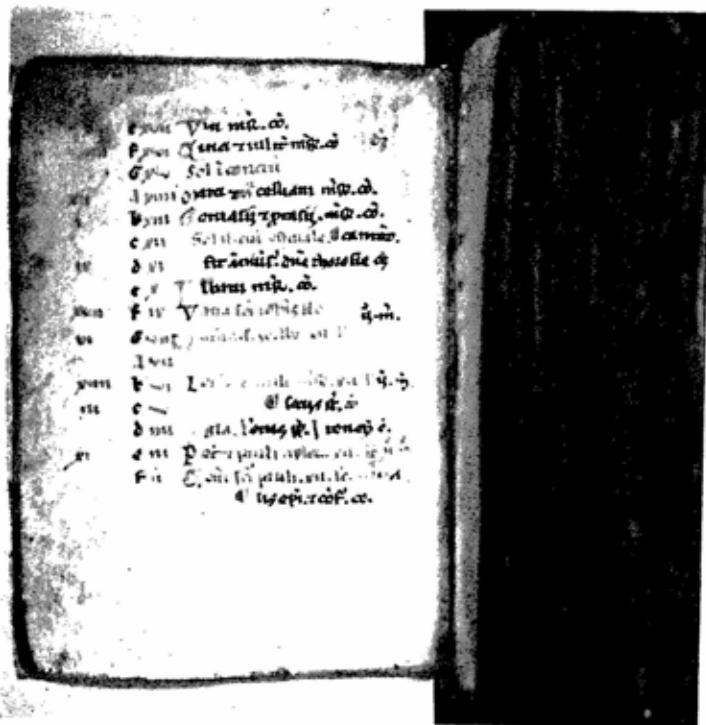
(b)

X. (a) BIBLE, BEGINNING OF MATTHEW: the 'Tree of Jesse; sometime in the possession of the Carthusians at Bonnefoy. France, second half of thirteenth century. Add. MS. 54235, f. 463  
 (b) NOTE OF THE MORTGAGE OF THE BIBLE, Add. MS. 54235 (see Pl. Xa), by the procurator of the Carthusians at Bonnefoy to the chancellor of Le Puy, 7 June 1443 (f. 622)

311 CAPIT. VIII.

**A**nno VIII ducis anno IV regni  
**I**llustrissimi domini pioissimi  
ducis in hoc  
**D**e primo. ....  
Iusti ymaginis nobis in  
pacum. ....  
De tyra modo ymisi.  
An iunctio sit iunctio.  
De instrumento quo fit pr  
econsum. ....  
Quemodo sit giner, que  
fit ydum, in que yd  
pumis ymisi. ....  
Onde est potis  
Deus qui in ymisi ydum  
potis. ....  
**Q**uod in ymisi ydum illi pum  
ille contulit omnia facta  
honesti tunc  
fit ymisi quod sit hoc ad  
inventio nientur.  
Deus qui duxit omnium  
ymisi. ....  
Quia ter et aliis manu  
daturum. ....  
Que armenta ostendit.  
De legis ymisi ydum  
andis. ....

XI. PETER LOMBARD, SENTENCES; belonged c. 1300 to Francisco de Olivares, rector of Castellón de la Plana. Spain, mid thirteenth century. Add. MS. 54236, f. 186



XII. DIURNAL OF THE CISTERCIANS AT LORVÃO, page  
from the calendar showing the obit of the foundress, the Blessed Teresa.  
Portugal, 1259-60. Add. MS. 54237, f. 6b

**I**ncurit platus aule sc̄a bī vi abbis  
de cōfessōr of M. p̄cepta  
magis & molimur cōtra  
mū. et ammonitione p̄cipit  
lūt̄ exēc. & efficacit cōple  
ut rōcū p̄ducentie lātōrē redas. iquo  
p̄ mōdificēre tēsionā rōcessas. ut argo  
mūc mēns sōno d̄bigit. q̄sq̄. d̄mūtans  
p̄p̄s nōlūtāb̄. tñō rōcū nōrēḡ mōlētū.  
mō. obedientie fortissimi acq̄ p̄dēta. iūa  
assūmēs h̄ip̄mis ut q̄. p̄ agendū mōlētū  
lōm̄. ab co p̄sia instansima eōn̄. et rōcū  
ut q̄n̄ nosū mōfūor dignatū. iūa  
computat. nō rētēt alq̄m̄ cōmālē. cō  
mīs cōfīstā. ita c̄ eōn̄ tēp̄e zēt̄. et rōcū  
iūb̄ p̄tētū. ē. ut nō solū iūtūtū. p̄tētū  
alq̄m̄ s̄līos c̄b̄tēt̄. si nec ut metū. nōm̄  
ōis. mātūs mālūs māia. ut nōs s̄m̄os fūḡ  
p̄tētū tētēt̄ ad p̄m̄. q̄cū s̄q̄ nōlēcūt̄ ad  
**S**urgamus & trāt̄ alq̄m̄. glām̄  
c̄rāt̄ante nos s̄p̄p̄ia uēdīcūt̄. h̄uā  
t̄m̄es & s̄m̄o s̄v̄ḡ. Et ap̄t̄s c̄m̄s nōt̄.

XIII. RULE OF ST. BENEDICT; belonged to Dom Benvenuto of Bologna, Abbot of St. Andrew de Candeculis 1363, subsequently in the library of Camaldoli. Italy, early fourteenth century.  
Add. MS. 54241, f. 2

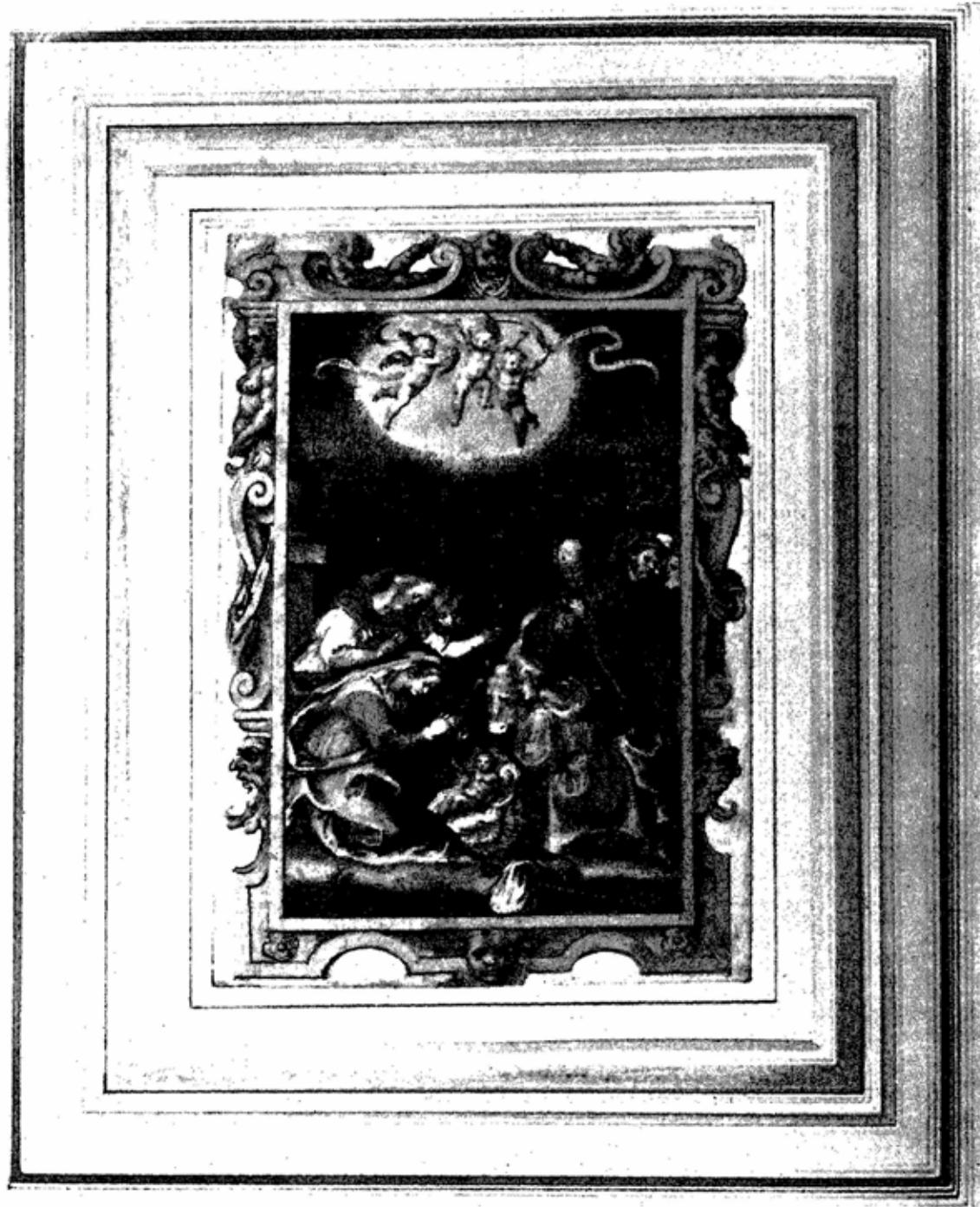
Dñe sui quid existimare dicitur hunc qui  
alios debet regnare. Ut ergo debet ipsa si  
nos per eam ad regnum ducere: Dic nos tu  
confundat omnes inimicos et trahere te le  
git dicit iudicium alienum fuis qui dno suo  
stat autem cunctis stat potest qm dous pe  
tros et stabilitate est Ira deus psum p  
cuso qd' dgnitatem: Tulla psum abuha  
m sapientia et qd' dictamine Iuris nables et  
dum qd' dicitur dicitur adiutor et exponit  
me frustis sit qd' agere. Omnes si quis  
autem Jacoby confirmat se religiosum  
et non refrenans ligatus sicut fons mar  
ina et religio. Quod etiam pson qd' non  
sapientia sine optato qd' et beatitudine amar  
et morte semperne aliquando eri  
quid Ihesus pson qd' exponit p  
eterna scula. Amor  
Capit p pson qd' de cordis ali de Iulian  
omnes dnm 1425 prima die mense.

Incepit Tractatus p modis dylagi.  
De pfectione credo. Anno dñi 1425.  
compositus. a magno Johse Gerson Et pson.

**C**hrelogique loget ad aiut pson  
Diligens dnm deuini ex toto cor  
de te dñi hñ pson sit o aiut  
jona tu ad apliceas et totu  
cor pson et anglia mide. Alio. deseo  
cognoscere voluntas cordis tui quo existit qm tot  
credo et adiuua mentis atq; pson. et nro  
hac no illac celeste dñi pson d' nro  
totu et se voluntas fecit. tunc pson spoulo  
et unifibile qd' de te obitum dñi. Totu  
fidei d' am 1425 pson pson uo dñi  
cui nichil deci. cui ut hñ pson simpliciter ab  
fidei pson dñi pson et totu d' qd' fidei d  
cui simpliciter nichil deci. et dñi d' d' qd' me  
lio et ec' qd' no ec' qd' qd' dñi. Hinc te in medie  
fidei pson et maphi. demissio pson  
et deuotio ali loq' de voluntate ut pson  
cognit hñ uida. Diliges dnm deuini et co  
fidei. Hinc fides et dñs et nro apparet hñ  
cui aliq' ut pson dñi in dñm pson qd' qd' co  
tete du vir alius cui nichil deci et qd' pson  
opere. Si hñ hñ ut illa dñm fidei pson  
ut nro qd' supponitur. Sic et d' hñ p  
son et corpore dñ nichil corpori dñ qd' ad ei  
rectificare et pson psonat pson nichil orbis  
plene donata. Quia Oloolo pson misteria  
grediuntur et pson dñ sit ex totu ut pson  
et nro qd' pson nro si misteria et gredi. Sic  
et hñ totum iulus intelligit. Quod. Tract  
sole a misteriis pson qd' que voluntas cordi dñ  
tigni qd' sub qd' latet. tunc voluntas dñ  
aperte dñm pson psonat misteria hñ. vñ cor  
volu et pson dñ qd' pson pson voluntas per  
hñ gredi facere. qm illo corde sic se hñ  
mo stat ut ad desiderio cor qd' pson misteria pson  
ad salutem. Id ei nro qd' gredi si misteria cul  
pa et si misteria ad salutem dñi.  
Diligent qd' dñi eo coro corde et suad aplice  
pson pson misteria bap' dñm cito  
dñi. dñi si qd' gredi pson et anglia dñ  
misteria psonat et psonat psona tam

INCOMINCIA VNO TRACTATO DICON  
FESSI ONE COMPOSTO PER R<sup>DO</sup> HVOMO M.  
ANTONIO DI SER NICCOLO DA FIRENZE.  
DELL'ORDINE DE FRATI PREDICATORI ET  
PER DIVINA CLEMENTIA ARCHIEPISCOPO  
FIORENTINO. PROLOGHVS INCIPIT.

E FECERUNT SCRUPANTES.  
Scrupantio aut. ps. lo Scrupantio, c.  
la confessione nella quale l'penitente  
discute errare et ricercha la confessione sua.  
El confessore insieme collui et imperio  
Lo scrupante, e il confessore ilquale puo mett modi man-  
care. Cioe per malitia absoluendo quello non puo ab-  
soluere quando losa ouero per ignorantia non sapiendo  
discernere infra lebba et lebba Cioe infra il peccato  
mortale et ilueniale et etiam non intendere quello  
che puo et non puo absoluere ouero per infirmita dicor  
capiscere pigliando inde occasione dimale per ludire  
quando incautamente s'ingegnasse. Vnde Augustino  
de penitentia di S. C. p. dice Guardasi lo spirituua  
le iudice si come non ha commesso crimine d'iniqui-  
ta, cosi non manchi d'aldorno della scientia. Per lequa  
li parole fidimostra che il confessore debba hauere po-  
testa nell'acto della conscientia et conservare lapurita.



XVI. MINIATURE OF THE NATIVITY. Italy, second half of sixteenth century. Add. MS. 54246

Wilmus capel Omib[us] fideli[bus] xp[ist]i satr. Scant tā p[re]sentis qm futuri qd[em] Bodilha  
filla Elfwini Euerga & heredes sui. qm de patre meo & de me ipse h[ab]ebat iurio te-  
nacrum: Wito p[ri]ori & Conventu eccl[esi]e xp[ist]i lant uendiderunt. & postea quietā  
in reddiderunt. Ego autē p[re]sentib[us] & consentientib[us] fratrib[us] meis concessi p[ri]ori  
& monachis Eccl[esi]e xp[ist]i lant. ut ipsi eandē qm de me & heredib[us] meis imp[er]auim  
p[er] idem servitium teneant. p[er] quod Elfwinus Euerga & heredes sui de p[re]  
meo & de me tenere solebant. reddendo sat inde. v. d. i. medio qd[em] habebimus.

## C V P O G D A N L V M

XVII. GRANT TO CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY, c. 1153-67. Add. Ch. 75670

Scimus presentes et facti quod ego Richardus Wallerand. dedi. concessi et licet presenti anno mei confirmandi  
per me et heredibus meis virginis et ueroe Vicariis exponem ecclesie per salutem meam et antecessorum et successorum  
meorum in parvam et perpetuam elemosinam redditum duodecim denarios sicut in obsequio vita ciuitatis  
exon in orientali parte venelle que appellatur vellardes lane quem redditum solelam precepit amicis de  
heredibus Iordanii terrarum in quatuor annis terminis per equis portionibus. Ego vero et heredes mei deinde redditum deis  
Vicarius eorum omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum tenem variare. In ciuius rei testimonium presenti  
stipro sigillu meu apposui. Huius testis. Osbertus rof. tut. ostiore exon. Thoma picher. et Walde de columb.  
Wolfr. Hugo filio Iacobi. Joho dubri. Walde Berudas. Hugo Lidey. Ferro de columb. Walbro  
de columb. Joho Wybunens et opus 1511 A. J. J. S. 

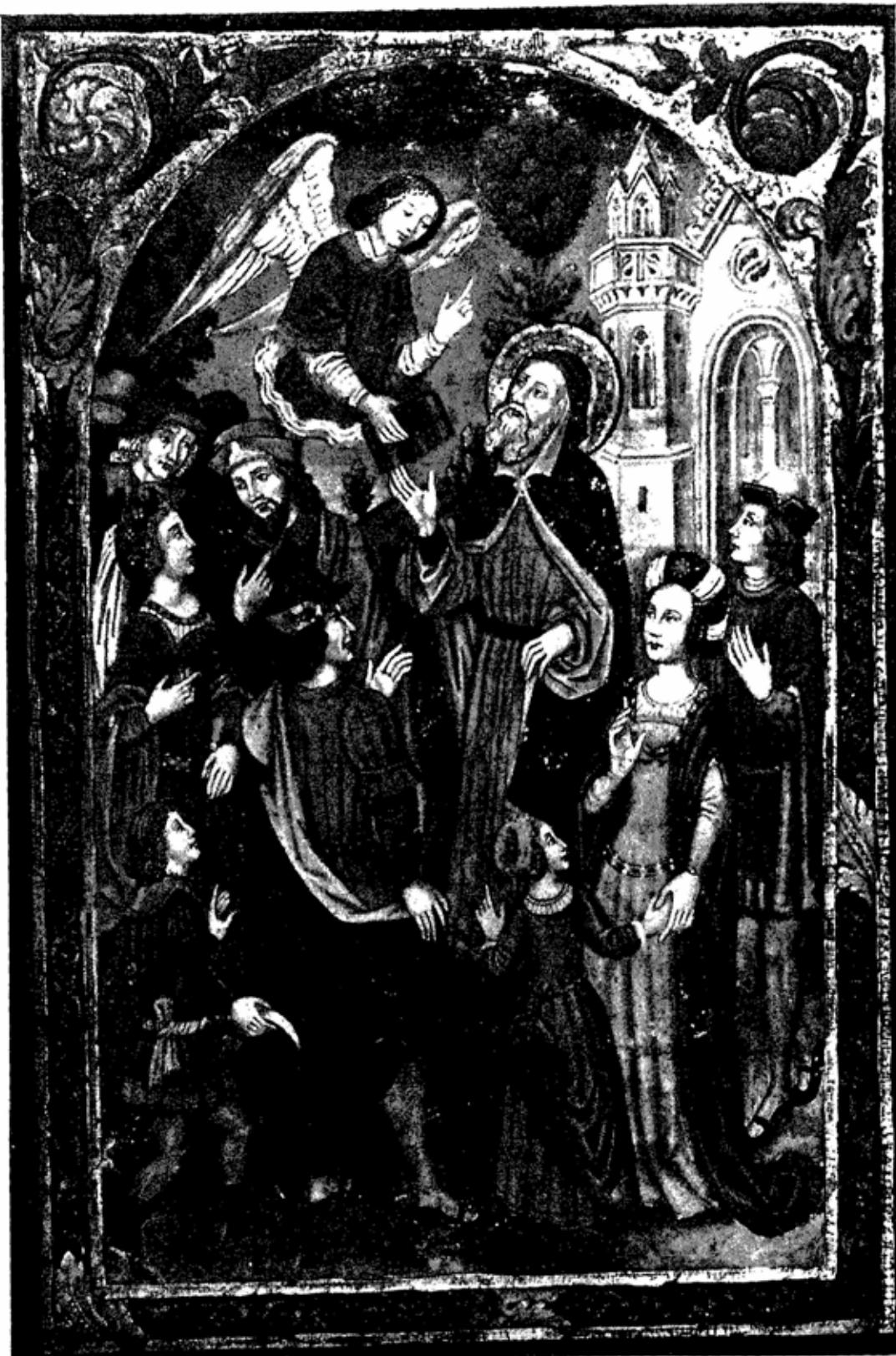
XVIII. GRANT TO THE VICARS CHORAL OF EXETER CATHEDRAL, c. 1234-53. Add. Ch. 75654

Presentes et priuatis ego Octus de Littleton pro domino Condestabulo et herib[us] capta mea confirmaverunt et statim regnavimus. inter denuo imperium. Regis vero de Cumbria de castello. et heredibus suis primitus ad ipsa clementia a quo modo habuimus. unde habui. Et habere noctis et huius rete in villa de Littleton. C.  
dabend. et clementia. postea regis et regis filii suis. ac capitali a non feci. pro duciis que  
pro tanto clementio leguntur eidem faciem. omnes precas vestras quod clementia canit omnia. P.  
clementius inter nos et huius rete tunc alio tempore regni regis et regis filii. neq[ue] aliquam puram et  
sanctam. nec ego Octus nisi aliquis habeat seu arguatur meos. aliquam puram et regis filii.  
Et hoc faciam mihi in vesti vestra. ut quoniam regis filii  
tunc possumus imperium. et quia ego Et hoc faciam mihi in vesti vestra. ut quoniam regis filii  
specie summae optimeque plente contra regis filii me impone. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. J. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. V. W. X. Y. Z.

XX. GRANT 'IN VALLE DE SENANO,' Italy, 1155. Add. Ch. 75710



XXI. MINIATURE, BY THE 'SPANISH FORGER', OF MUSICIANS PERFORMING BEFORE A KING AND QUEEN. Nineteenth to twentieth century. Add. MS. 5424<sup>8</sup>



XXII. MINIATURE OF A MIRACLE, BY THE 'SPANISH FORGER'. Nineteenth to twentieth century. Add. MS. 53783

Over the wide and starry sky  
Dig the grave and let me lie.  
Glad did I live, and gladly die—  
And I laid me down with a will.  
This be the verse you grave for me:  
Here he lies where he longed to be;  
Home is the sailor, home from the sea,  
And the hunter home from the hill.

A.D. 1888 VIII

XXIII. 'REQUIEM', BY ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON; WRITTEN BY EDWARD JOHNSTON,  
1908. Add. MS. 54250

P. VIRGILII MARONIS

ECLOGA IV. POLLIO.



ICELIDES MUSAЕ,

PAULLO MAJORA CANAMUS!

N on omnes arbusta juvant humilesque myricae;

S i canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.

U ltimus Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas;

M agnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.

J am redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;

J am nova progenies coelo demittitur alto.

(a)

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ γεννᾶται, δοξάσατε,  
Χριστὸς ἐξ οὐρανῶν, ἀπαντήσατε,  
Χριστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς, ὑψώθητε.  
Ἄστε τῷ Κυρίῳ πάσι ή γῆ,  
καὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ ἀνυμήσατε,  
λαοὶ, στὶ δεδόξασται.

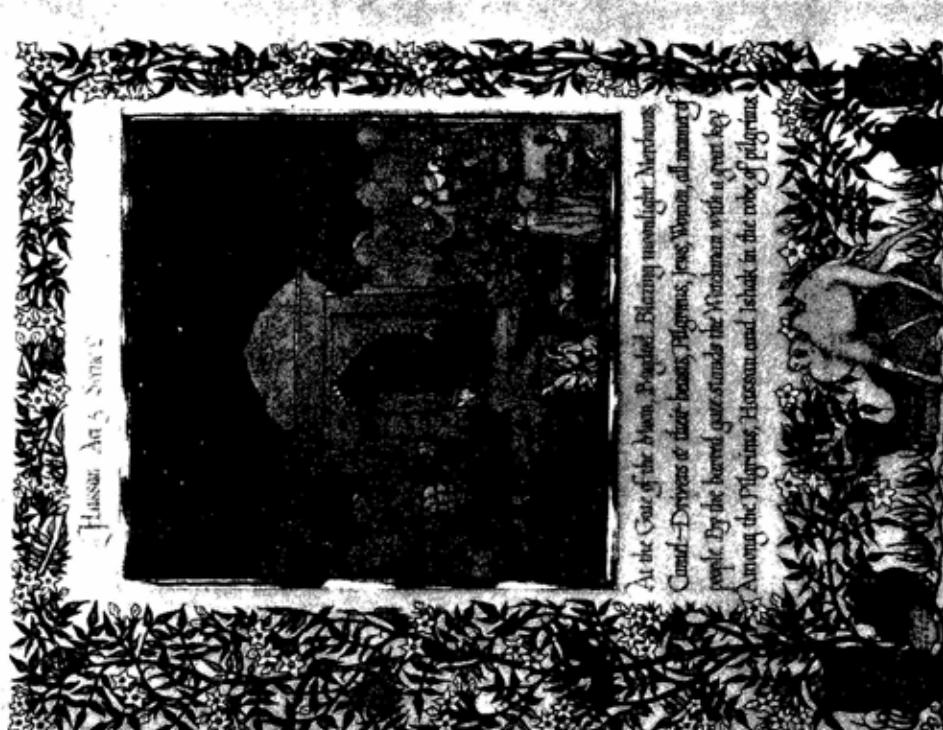
From Kanon for Christmas

(b)

XXIV. EXAMPLES OF THE WORK OF GRAILY HEWITT (d. 1952)

(a) Opening lines of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, with initials by Ida Henstock. Add. MS. 54257, f. 1.

(b) Extract from the Kanon for Christmas, used as a Christmas card. Add. MS. 54257, f. 11



At the Gate of the black Bould, Blazing mid-night, Merchants,  
Camel-Drivers & their horses, Pilgrims, free Women of memory,  
People By the hundred gat towards the Kondoman with a great key  
Among the Pilgrims, Hussen and Ischak in the mole of pilgrims.



FOR WE ARE READY TO A MAN!  
Our camels snuff the evening and are glad.  
Lead on, O Master of the caravan,  
Lead on the Merchant-Princes of Bagdad.

The Chief Dancer As'ad al-Khalid, 1938, 2 vols. 12mo. 2 vols.  
Have we not Indian carpets dark as wine,  
Turbans & sashes, gowns & bows & veils  
And broderies of intricate design,  
And printed hangings in enormous tales?

The Chief Dancer  
We have rose-candy, we have spikenard,  
Mastic and terebinth and oil and spice,  
And such sweet jams miraculously jarr'd  
As God's Own Prophet eats in Paradise.

The Merchants [Anyhow]

Hussen Art. 5 Syra 5

## Chap. I

of Missing Link

A Monday Evening late in January - Mr Paul Bulstrode Merchant sitting comfortably in his dining room after dinner - Dick preparing for School - the farewell interview - Mr B's somewhat brutal humour - The Old Stone - Uncle Theodore - the fatal wish - With the Second.

## Chap. II

The Awakening in the Cab - gradual realisation of the situation - the faithful Jarvis - at the station - Jarvis won't drive Paul back - the Porter cut off by — Dr Grindstone - his affusive greeting - Paul can't get in a word - the Doctor puts his hand on his shoulder & walks him up & down the platform - expecting no Mr B's excellencies as a parent - the last touching letter about Dick - the other boys - Paul somehow is too nervous to explain on the platform - thinks he will get a compartment alone with the Doctor & sit put out at the first stopping place - alone in the carriage with the Doctor & boys - an exorcist - Paul asserts himself - things in the City - —'s school - how Paul knew one of the boy's father - The Doctor's sudden change of manner - Paul ordered to be silent - arrival at — station - two flies - Paul put in one with the boys -

## Chap. III

At Credilton House - the Schoolroom - Sludge the Sneak - his mysterious greeting to Paul - Paul's resolve to speak to the Doctor when the boys have gone to bed - Prayers - Goodnight - Paul's desperate effort & his failure - In the Dormitory - Dick Bulstrode's transformation - Paul settles to confide in his companions - Paul asked for a story -

## Chap. IV

Tuesday - Paul comes down early - Breakfast - meet' 2/- per term - a game at chess - Exam of Holiday talk - Dick's certificate - Paul forced to apologise in pair of a flogging - Mr Pringle takes a class in Latin - Paul repeats a neighbour's roasting peppermint - the awful results -

## Chap V

Wednesday - Mr Pringle misunderstands Paul - an interview with Ethel & Dickie Grindstone - the recreant boxer reproached - Dulcie's jealousy of twin girls - The French class & the unfortunate day brother - A Half Holiday - the embogged funds - the Court martial - How Mr Grindstone played football with his boys - Paul puts his foot in it

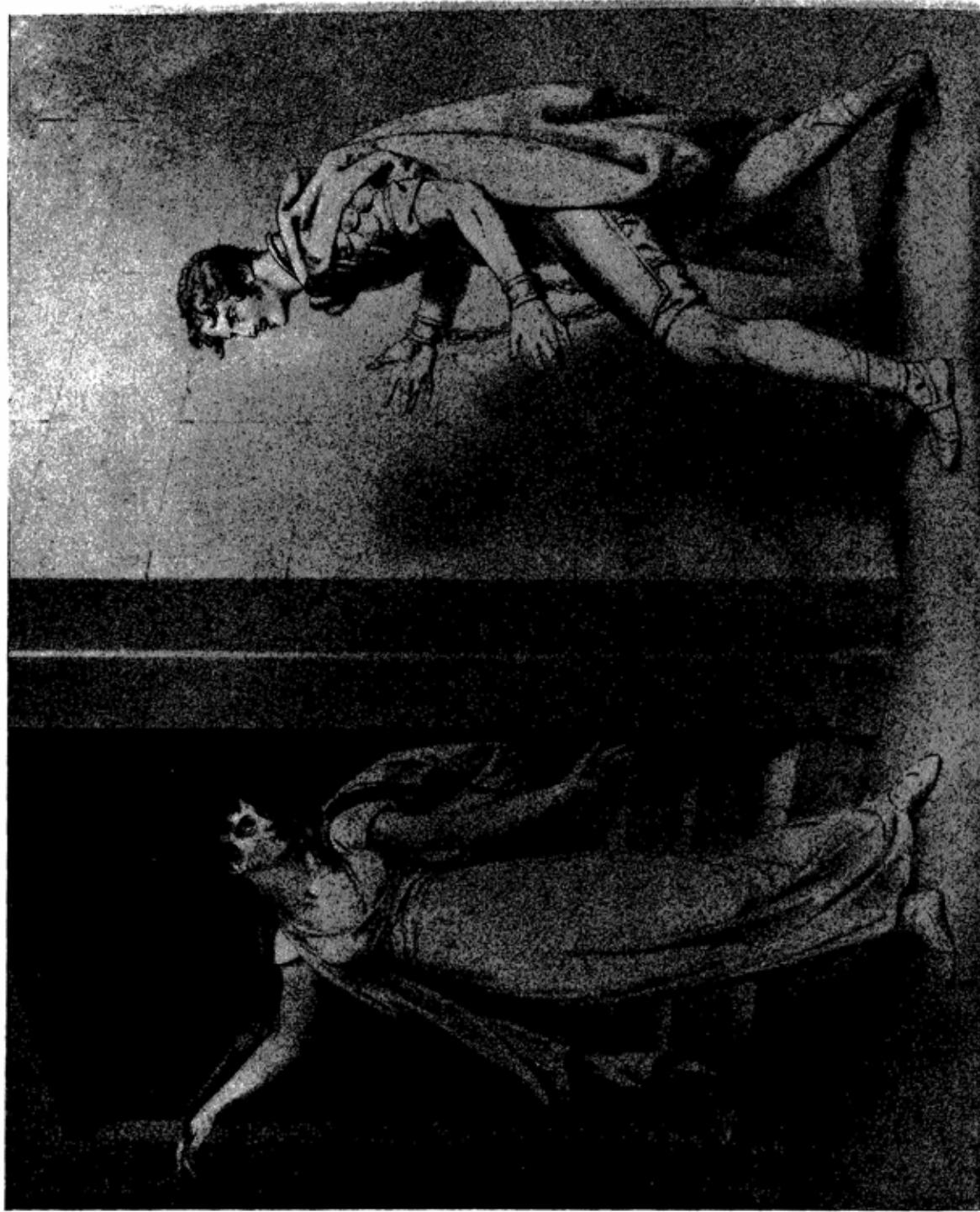


(a)



(b)

XXVII. (a, b). 'F. ANSTEY', *The Man from Blankley's*, revival at the Haymarket Theatre, 1906. From Add. MS. 54310



XXVIII. JOHN DOWNMAN, a scene from Byron's *The Corsair*, canto III, stanza 9, after 1814



XXIX. JOHN FLAXMAN, the *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1805



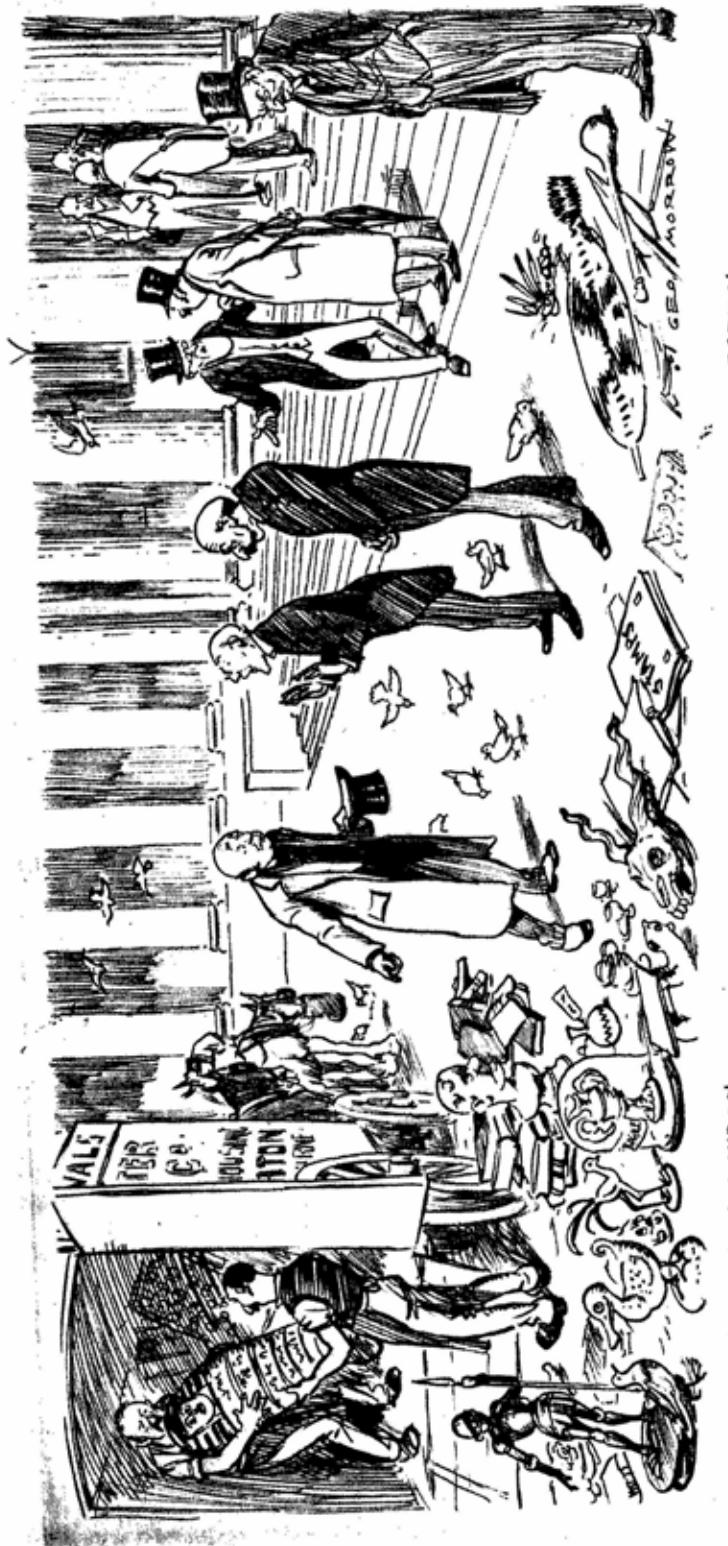
XXX. JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS, Annie Lynn, 1852



XXXI. JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS, *Fanny Lynn*, 1852

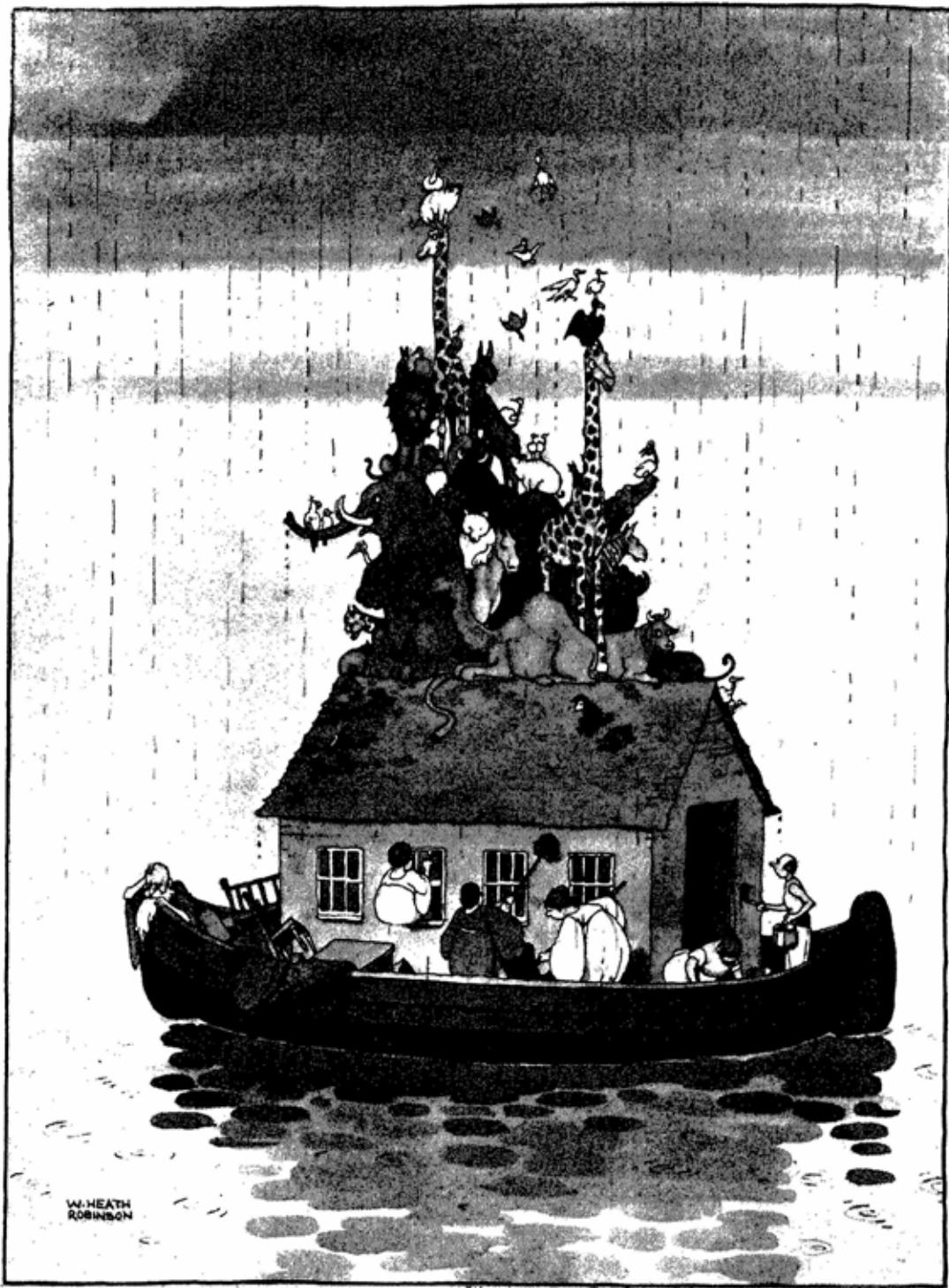


Phil May's 'Sketches from Life', 1895. The figures are drawn from life, without any drawing or sketching.



UNKNOWN LONDON  
BRITISH MUSEUM OFFICIALS REFUSING TO ACCEPT A COLLECTION.  
"PUNCH" ALMANACK  
FOR 1914

XXXIII. GEORGE MORROW, 'British Museum Officials refusing to accept a Collection', 1913



XXXIV. W. HEATH ROBINSON, 'Spring-cleaning in Noah's Ark,' 1922

## A COLLECTION OF MUSICAL PROGRAMMES

**A**MONG the fugitive material of music, programmes are notoriously elusive, and their representation in the collections of the Department of Printed Books is, to say the least, uneven. For many years no attempt was made to claim under the Copyright Act of 1911 programmes published in Britain, and it is perhaps doubtful whether many of them constitute 'publications' within the meaning of the Act. Consequently very few long runs have been acquired except by donation (as were the St. James's Hall series of 1859 to 1904), or, occasionally, by purchase, as were the earlier Promenade concerts of 1896 to 1926. Indeed, programmes are all too often thrown away after a concert, unless some devoted music-lover preserves them as a habit. Such, for instance, is the origin of the large and immensely valuable collection of English programmes and word-books made by Sir George Smart from 1813 up till his death in 1867. Programmes of European concerts are naturally even scarcer; they are seldom found in any quantity outside the country of their origin, and comparatively few of them have come into the British Museum. All the more welcome therefore is the large collection, containing both European and English material, which has been presented by Mr. Ernst Henschel.

Mr. Henschel has been good enough to supply some details about his life, which bear upon his interest in music. He was born in 1878, and lived most of his life in Berlin where he practised as a lawyer until 1938, when he emigrated to London. He studied law and the history of music at the universities of Berlin and Munich. His interest covered both the classics and new music of all kinds. He was a member of the Bach-Gesellschaft, and of the International Society of Contemporary Music, of which he was created an honorary member in 1963. It was in October 1938 that Mr. Henschel first obtained a ticket for the Reading Room of the British Museum, and he has been a familiar figure there ever since. Mr. Henschel began to go to concerts in 1892, and continued to do so frequently until 1966. His programmes thus cover almost three-quarters of a century, and amount to some 3,000 items.

Many of them are from concerts in Berlin, which was one of the great centres of musical life in Europe. Every imaginable kind of music-making is represented —many seasons of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, concerts of chamber music, organ recitals in churches, concerts given by foreign orchestras visiting the city and by student groups of various kinds, recitals by famous singers and instrumentalists. Here are a gallery of the great names in music, such as Nikisch, Furtwängler, Bruno Walter, Weingartner, Richard Strauss, Klempner, Busoni,

Edwin Fischer, Artur Schnabel, and many others. Of especial interest are the programmes recording first or early appearances of artists who later became famous. Many of the more substantial programmes contain descriptive and analytical notes by well-known scholars or critics. There are many programmes associated with historic occasions, such as that commemorating in 1899 the sixtieth anniversary of Joachim's first appearance at a concert.

Mr. Henschel's interest in new music, already mentioned, is reflected in two series of very important programmes, those of the meetings of the International Society for Contemporary Music, held in various European cities, and those of the Concert Society for the Promotion of New Music, given mainly in London from 1945 onwards. Both these series contain the first appearances of many names and works which later became famous. Mr. Henschel also attended numerous concerts given in the smaller halls of London, in churches, in teaching institutions and the like. The programmes of these are all the more valuable because they constitute a record of musical occasions which were sometimes not covered at all, or at best rather cursorily, by the daily or musical press. Future historians of the music of the period covered by Mr. Henschel's collection will find it a rich source to explore. It has been given the press mark 'Henschel'.

A. HYATT KING

## THE LÁSZLÓ WALTHER COLLECTION

THE nucleus of the rich collection of Hungarian books, which now belongs to the Library of the British Museum, was formed by Thomas Watts in the middle of the last century. His great diligence and expertise have created the basic conditions for the study of the lesser literatures of Europe in England, an accomplishment for which he could justly claim recognition. Watts himself was rather proud of his achievement, and was delighted to report to Panizzi in 1861:

In five of the languages in which it [i.e. the Library] now claims this species of supremacy—in Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Danish and Swedish—I believe I may say that, with the exception of perhaps fifty volumes, every book that has been purchased by the Museum within the last three and twenty years, has been purchased at my suggestion. I have the pleasure of reflecting that every future student of the less known literatures of Europe will find riches where I found poverty.<sup>1</sup>

Watts was specially proud of the Hungarian collection, but it was thought after his death that this section of the Library was neglected, as was suggested by the *Athenaeum* in 1877. The magazine wrote:

The late Mr. Watts . . . commenced the formation of a good collection of Hungarian books at the British Museum, a section of which he was specially proud, little thinking how sadly it would be neglected after his death. Of late, very few new books have been added to it, and

it is even said that additions which had been purchased by him, were allowed to remain for years uncatalogued, a point into which, if the statement be correct, it would be as well that the Trustees should inquire.<sup>2</sup>

No doubt the *Athenaeum* was well informed on matters of the British Museum, for a number of its contributors, including Thomas Watts, were on the staff. It seems, however, to be likely that the neglect of the Hungarian collection was perhaps a little overstated. While, on the one hand it is certainly true, that until the appointment of E. D. Butler, there was nobody in the Museum whose knowledge of things Hungarian could be favourably compared to the expertness of Watts,<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, it is also true that important acquisitions were made shortly after the death of Watts, between 1870 and 1873.

It was in these years that the Museum acquired a substantial part of the valuable collection of two Hungarian bibliophiles, István Nagy and László Walther from the Leipzig firm *List und Francke*. The former collection included a number of early Hungarian printed books, some of which were unique copies, but their discussion falls outside the scope of the present article.<sup>4</sup>

The books, pamphlets, and manuscripts of László Walther were acquired by *List und Francke* after Walther's death in 1865, through a Budapest bookseller, and were offered for sale after 1867. A great number of these books also have found their way into the British Museum, thus enriching its holdings in Hungarian literature and history.

One of the catalogues issued by the Leipzig firm contained an item for sale<sup>5</sup> which—according to the catalogue—consisted of about 4,000 miscellaneous folio, quarto, and octavo pamphlets, broadsides, playbills, and manuscripts, dated mainly from 1770 to 1863 in 85 boxes. This also was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum, with the assistance of their continental agent, Messrs. A. Asher & Co., Berlin, in June 1873, and later catalogued as a single entry under HUNGARY. [Appendix.—Miscellaneous.] [A collection of about 4,000 pamphlets, broadsides, etc., in Hungarian, German, and Latin relating to the history, literature, etc., of Hungary.] [Cup. 1248 d. 1.] There are no data available whether these purchases were suggested by E. D. Butler, but a few years later the *Athenaeum* reported that 'We trust that he will . . . try to make the Hungarian department what it would have been if Mr. Watts had not been prematurely cut off.'<sup>6</sup>

In any case, the books from Walther's library were selected by an experienced hand at a time when magazines accused the British Museum with neglecting its Hungarian collection.<sup>7</sup>

László Walther (1788–1865),<sup>8</sup> whose collection of pamphlets is the main subject of this article, was associated for a very long time with the Károlyi family. He first worked on one of their large estates as manager, and from 1822 until

his retirement in 1850 he was the keeper of their family archives. A lawyer by profession, with wide interests and a taste for literature, he took an active part in public life during the *Reformkor* (the era of Reform, 1825–48). He was one of the ten founder-members of the *Kisfaludy Society*, which was originally formed to publish a complete edition of the works of Károly Kisfaludy, the playwright and poet (1788–1830), but later became the most prominent literary society in Hungary in the nineteenth century. He was also elected a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and was an enthusiastic member of the National Hungarian Agricultural Society (*Országos Magyar Gazdasági Egyesület*). But, above all, he was a bibliophile. He not only loved and collected books, but also preserved all sorts of printed material, which otherwise had little chance of survival in spite of its potential historical value. The collection revealed Walther's devotion: he arranged the material, dated a great number of publications, and often traced the authors of minor pamphlets, whose names he inserted in his neat handwriting. The collection of Walther—for the purpose of the present article—includes only those items which were kept under the press-mark '*Cup. 1248 d. 1*'. In the course of the ninety-odd years preceding the separate cataloguing, various hands picked out items from the collection and catalogued them. L. C. Wharton, for example, catalogued items apparently selected at random. (Items from the collection can be found under the press-mark 05549. ff. 1–32, for example.) It was decided in the middle of 1962, at the suggestion of R. J. Fulford, to catalogue the collection. The work was done by me, supervised by G. J. Arnold, between October 1962 and January 1966. The collection has been kept together under a special press-mark starting with *Hung.*

The collection also contained manuscripts; these were separated from the printed material unless they were bound with other tracts. Most were of occasional verse, by little-known or unknown provincial writers, but there are a number deserving special mention such, for example, as an unpublished autograph letter,<sup>9</sup> dated 26 July 1795, by Mihály Csokonai Vitéz (1773–1805), addressed to Count József Károlyi, which throws light on a hitherto unknown aspect of the poet's life after he had lost his position at the University College of Debrecen.<sup>10</sup> There are numerous copies of speeches delivered at the General Meeting of Counties (e.g. Bars, Csongrád, Nógrád) and at both the Lower and Upper Table of the Diet, including a number of addresses to the Diet (*Felirat*), dated between c. 1790 and 1840, in contemporary handwriting, by various country Assemblies.

The catalogued material can be conveniently grouped into the following categories:

1. History
2. Literature
3. Language

4. Music
5. Theatre
6. Periodical publications
7. Publications of various societies and institutions
8. Theses
9. Book production and bookselling
10. Miscellanea

The division of the material is arbitrary and does not cover the entire collection. Items of non-Hungarian interest are disregarded, and so are most of the prospectuses of commercial firms. (The majority of these prospectuses have been kept together, and catalogued under the heading: HUNGARY. [Appendix.—Miscellaneous.] [A collection of pamphlets and broadsides including notices of sales, prospectuses for various agricultural products; prospectuses issued by commercial firms, insurance companies, etc., all relating to Hungary.] 300 pt. [c. 1780–1856.] [Hung. I. g. 49.] Printed documents of legal actions are not discussed here. Although a number of these documents are catalogued separately, under the name of the plaintiffs, most of them are kept together under the heading: HUNGARY. [Appendix.—Legal.] [A collection of documents in Hungarian and Latin relating to legal actions brought by Hungarian subjects.] 12 pt. [Pest, c. 1800–c. 1835.] fol. [Hung. I. i. 17].

In the following a brief description of each group is given with notes on some of the most interesting items.

1. HISTORY. The earliest part of the historical material refers to the Turkish War of 1788–90 in which Belgrade was captured. Numerous pamphlets were issued after this event, some of which can be found in the collection, e.g. BELGRADE. [Appendix.] [A sermon celebrating the occupation of Belgrade, etc.] [Pest? 1789] Hung. I. b. 143(2), or a poem addressed to the first Commander-in-Chief, Count András Hadik [cf. Hung. I. n. 18(31)]. The end of the eighteenth century witnessed the impact of the enlightenment on Hungarian letters; the widespread free masonic and radical political thinking led to the Martinovics Conspiracy, while the Diet of 1790 revealed a marked interest in the revival of the Hungarian language. In the last decades of the eighteenth century a great number of pamphlets were produced in Hungary. Many interesting examples of these years are preserved in the collection. An anonymous pamphlet HUNGARIAN PATRIOT: *A' tizenkilentzedik százban élt igaz magyar hazafinak örööm-bráj. A nagy-szívűségnél*; [Pest,] 1900 [i.e. 1790.] [Hung. I. b. 21], written by János Nagyváthy (1755–1819), advocates a new society, tolerant, and based on social equality. Nagyváthy was a freemason, the imprint *A nagy-szívűségnél* appears to be the name of one of the Pest lodges<sup>11</sup> of the Hungarian Free Masons. Other uncommon pamphlets of masonic interest worth mentioning are: SYMBOLUM.

*Symbolum compositum, quod constitutionem, sive consistantiam juris publici Hungarici exprimit, etc.* Pest, [1797?] [Hung. I. n. 2(2)]; and *LORD'S PRAYER*. [Appendix.] *Das Vater Unser die Jakobiner betreffend. Ofen, 1795* [Hung. I. a. 76 (2)].

The era of the Napoleonic wars is also well documented in the collection; there are several contemporary newsletters describing the movements of the French Army in Austria and Upper Hungary, also material relating to the *Nemesi Felkelés* of 1805 and 1809. These were troops raised by the nobility as a part of their obligation under the Constitution, and they were last used in the Battle of Győr (1809), where the French easily routed them. Publications include a contemporary edition of the correspondence between General Davout and Pálfy [Hung. I. f. 27 (1)] and a regulation for the *Felkelés* [Hung. I. c. 33].

Two major issues of the *Reformkor*; the argument on the Hungarian law of entail (*ősiségek*) and the hotly debated problem of mixed marriages are represented in this collection by the rare pamphlets, *Elmélkedés az ősiségek általános eltörlése, etc.* Pest, [c. 1845] [Hung. I. c. 16] by Zoltán Péterfalvi Molnár, and *Felelet a pesti hírlapokban közlött ns. Z. megyének vegyes-házasságokat tárgyazó feliratára*. Pest, 1841 [Hung. I. l. 8] by K., Z. But most of the historical material is connected with the revolution of 1848 and the subsequent War of Independence. The publications in the collection relating to the revolution of 1848 (those of literary interest are discussed under LITERATURE) include the following works: an instruction booklet issued for the use of *Honvéd* advanced guards by Sándor Gál, placed at *Hung. I. a. 24*, a contemporary description of the events of the revolution by Albert Nyáry,<sup>12</sup> placed at *Hung. I. c. 13*, a rare pamphlet attacking religious orders by Dániel Hamary: *Nem kell szerzetes rend*. Pest, [1848] at *Hung. I. c. 8*, an important eyewitness account of Hungarian participation in the revolution in Vienna, in March 1848, by Baron János Dercsényi, placed at *Hung. I. f. 3 (3)*, and Imre Hatvani's appeal for the cause of the Rumanians: *Százat az oldhfaj ügyében, etc.* Pest, [1848] [Hung. I. c. 7], which is significant in connection with the nationality question in the revolution.

There are numerous posters issued at Pest and at provincial towns by the Austrian Army. Although most of these were published in a book shortly after the War of Independence,<sup>13</sup> Walther's must be one of the very few collections containing posters from this war. The more interesting items are: Announcement of the collapse of the Kossuth Government [*Hung. I. k. 22 (6)*], demand for the extradition of former *Honvéds* (soldiers of Kossuth's army) [*Hung. I. h. 13 (25)*], demand for the surrender of Kossuth banknotes [*Hung. I. h. 13 (28)*], of the weapons in Pest [*Hung. I. h. 13 (8)*]; announcing martial law in the provinces [*Hung. I. h. 13 (24)*], embodying the former *Honvéds* in the Austrian Army [*Hung. 2. a. 1 (17)*]. Most of these documents were signed by General Julius Haynau, who was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian Army of Occupation on 30 May 1849. The royal decree appointing him, signed by the

Emperor Francis Joseph, is placed at *Hung. i. k. 22* (2). The printed text of the new Constitution of the Austrian Empire issued from Olmütz and thus known as the 'Olmütz Constitution' is preserved in several contemporary publications all signed by General Haynau [*Hung. i. g. 5 & i. i. 7 & i. h. 12*]. Most of these documents are catalogued under HUNGARY.—*Austrian Army of Occupation and PEST*.—*Katonai Kerületi Parancsnokság*.

2. LITERATURE. Occasional verses form the greater part of the pamphlets which might be discussed under this heading. They are addressed to kings and queens of Hungary on some special occasion (e.g. coronation, marriage, death). Most of them are addressed to Mary Theresa, Queen of Hungary, Ferdinand I and Francis I, Emperors of Austria; and around 1790 Stephen I, King of Hungary, is the subject of many poems and sermons. The collection preserved many poems addressed to the *nádors* (Palatine) of Hungary (Charles, Joseph Anthony John, Alexander Leopold, Archdukes of Austria), ecclesiastical dignitaries (mostly bishops and archbishops on their accession), and *főispáns* (Lord Lieutenants of the Hungarian counties) on the occasion of their installation. The greatest number of poems are addressed to Count Antal Cziráky, Chancellor of Pest University, and members of the Károlyi family. The most prolific authors are Joannes C. Hannulik (1745–1816), with an almost complete collection of his Latin poems, and András Farkas (1770–1832).

Of the literary material the most interesting is an anonymous German tract: *Der Mann ohne Vorurtheil in der neuen Regierung*. Wien, 1781 [*Hung. i. m. 88*]. It was attributed<sup>14</sup> to György Bessenyei (1747–1811), classical author of the Hungarian Enlightenment, but had escaped the notice of writers on him. On the suggestion of the British Museum the Hungarian National Library investigated the authorship, which is now established beyond doubt.<sup>15</sup> No copy of this tract is recorded in Hungarian libraries. Another interesting tract is entered under CARBERI (Anna), on the equality of men and women: *B. Carberi Anna kis-aszszonynak kedveséhez írtt levele, melyben meg-mutatja, hogy az aszszonyi személyek emberek*. Pest, 1785 [*Hung. i. b. 3*]. The tract is attributed to Pál Ányos<sup>16</sup> (1756–84), and this is not known in Ányos literature.<sup>17</sup> The collection possesses probably the only copy of Ferenc Kölcsey's tract, usually known as *Második felirat az ifjak ügyében*, printed possibly at Nagykároly in 1836 [*Hung. i. h. 13* (19)]. Although this *Felirat* has frequently been referred to in literature by writers on Kölcsey, the text had been lost until it was republished from the copy in the Walther collection.<sup>18</sup>

Among the items relating to Sándor Petőfi (1823–49) there are a number of single-sheet poems. *A királyokhoz* [*Hung. i. c. 11* (1)] was written between 27 and 30 March 1848, and published immediately by the printing firm Landerer and Heckenast.<sup>19</sup> This is the first open attack by Petőfi against the monarchy as an institution. The same printing firm produced Petőfi's *Nemzeti Dal* as its first

publication after it had been seized by the revolutionaries [*Hung. 1. c. II* (2)] on 15 March 1848 (see Pl. xxxvii). The poem had an inflammatory effect in the March revolution, and was reprinted in several provincial towns. The collection preserves the Pápa edition [*Hung. 1. f. 3* (1)] (see Pl. xxxviii), which was for a long time unrecorded.<sup>20</sup>

There are two important items by János Arany (1817–82): one of them is a subscription form for the short-lived periodical *Nép Barátja*, of which Arany was the co-editor during the revolution in 1848 [*Hung. 1. f. 3* (19)], and a first edition of his poem *Széchenyi emlékezete* published at Pest in 1860 [*Hung. 1. f. 1*].

The collection also contains a number of small tracts written by, or relating to, the following writers: János Batsányi, Dávid Baróti Szabó, Baron József Eötvös, Mihály Csokonai Vitéz, András Fáy, János Garay, István Gyöngyösi, Ferenc Kazinczy, János Kis, Károly Kisfaludy, József Lévay, Ferenc Verseghy, Benedek Virág, and Mihály Vitkovics. Although some of them are both significant and interesting, want of space prevents a detailed description.

3. LANGUAGE. The few tracts in the collection relating to the Hungarian language are mainly products of the language reform (i.e. *nyelvújítás*) which took place in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Among them Pál Makó's early attempt<sup>21</sup> to establish the basis for the compilation of a Hungarian dictionary (*Egy magyar szótárnak készítésére intéző vélemények*. [Buda, 1792] [*Hung. 1. b. 16*]). Another tract by János Révai (1750–1807), eminent linguist and author of the first Hungarian grammar on historical principles, is devoted to the reasons why Hungarian should be studied as an academic subject [*Hung. 1. c. 10*].

4. MUSIC. There are only a few items in the collection which are of musical interest. Beethoven composed the incidental music for Kotzebue's 'König Stephan' (op. 117) and 'Die Ruinen von Athen' (op. 113), which had been specially written for the opening ceremony of the German theatre in Pest on 9 February 1812. One of the original playbills is preserved in the collection [*Hung. 1. h. 13* (23)] (see Pl. XL).<sup>22</sup> Ferenc Liszt gave two concerts in the *Nemzeti Színház*, Pest, on 4 and 11 January 1840 in aid of the Hungarian National Theatre and to start the fund for a national academy of music. The playbill for the first concert is placed at *Hung. 2. a. 1* (7) (see Pl. xxxv). The collection also contains some poems addressed to Liszt on the occasion of his various concerts in Hungary including one written by János Garay.

5. THEATRE. The collection preserves a considerable number of playbills of the early Hungarian theatre companies. There are playbills of the *Budai Magyar Színesz Társaság* (1833–7) covering the years 1833–6, of the *Nemzeti Játiszó Társaság* (1807–15), of the *Nemzeti Színjátszó Társaság* (1822), of a different company of the same name (1825),<sup>23</sup> and of the *Nemzeti Színművész Társaság* (1828–31). All of these companies were formed at Pest. The most important event, however, in the history of the Hungarian theatre before the establishment

of the National Theatre (1837) was the visit of the *Nemzeti Játész Társaság* of Székesfehérvár (1815–25) in Pest in 1819 and 1824. On both occasions the most successful plays were those by Károly Kisfaludy. The first performance on 3 May 1819 of *A tatárok Magyarországban* [Hung. 2. a. 1 (2)] was followed by *Ilka* on 16 June [Hung. 2. a. 1 (11)] and *Stibor Vajda* on 7 September [Hung. 1. f. 3 (7)]. Playbills from the 1824 performances of the Székesfehérvár company in Pest can also be found in the collection. There are, as well, playbills of a '*Honi Színész Társaság*' apparently otherwise unknown [Hung. 1. c. 11 (15)] which was performing at Debrecen in 1838. The cause of the Hungarian National Theatre, much disputed in pamphlets and periodicals, found advocates from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Among the tracts in the collection, the following should be mentioned here: the two very early appeals *Buzdítás a Nemzeti Théâtrom felépítésére*, signed by István Kultsár on 25 August 1815 and published in Pest [Hung. 1. c. 9], and *A' nemes szívű magyarokhoz a' pesti nemzeti théâtrom' ügyében* [Hung. 1. b. 46] by Endre Pázmándi Horváth, published in Buda in 1815, and a later *Okok* [Hung. 1. a. 8] by Károly Viaskody and printed in Buda in 1834. The *Nemzeti Színház* was opened on 22 August 1837 with a prologue *Árpád ébredése* by Mihály Vörösmarty. The playbill [Hung. 1. h. 13 (22)] is probably the most often-reproduced relic of the history of the Hungarian theatre (see Pl. xxxix).<sup>24</sup> The Walther collection contains also a fine set of playbills for the first two seasons of the *Nemzeti Színház*.

The richness of the collection in material relating to the theatre is far from being exhausted by the above account. There are, for example, a number of single-sheet verses, mostly published anonymously and addressed to leading actresses of the age, including Mrs. Anikó Lendvay (*née* Hivatal). There is also a tract relating to the story, widely known in the eighteenth century, of *Inkle and Yarico*. This probably originated from an anecdote by Sir Richard Steele, first published in the *Spectator* (1711), about a young English gentleman who, upon returning from the West Indies to London, heartlessly sold his native mistress Yarico to compensate himself for the loss of time which she had caused. Numerous poems including several stage (even ballet) adaptations of the story<sup>25</sup> were written and translated into most European languages. In Hungary two versions became known. First, as a poem after C. F. Gellert<sup>26</sup> and later as a dramatization with songs which was performed in 1799. The present tract contains the text of the songs, in the translation by János Kócsi Patkó,<sup>27</sup> from the original of J. F. Schink: *Inkle és Járikó, vagy az arany idő énekes játéknak dallai* [Hung. 1. a. 23], which was printed at Pest, probably in 1808 (see Pl. xlia).

6. PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS. The collection contains a few odd numbers of periodicals and a fair amount of interesting material referring to the following: *Athenaeum*, *Hazai s' Kül földi Tudósítások*, *Jelenkor*, *Márczius Tizenötödike*, *Orvosi Tár*, *Pesti Hirlap*, *Pesti Divatlap*, *Rajzolatok*, *Regélő*, *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, etc.

There is an advance notice of the publication of *Kossuth Hirlapja* (1848) signed by Lajos Kossuth at *Hung. I. f. 4 (9)*.

The finest nineteenth-century literary almanac of Hungary, the *Aurora* (1822–37), was subject of a dispute, known as *Aurora per*. The editor, József Bajza, decided that Trattner and Károlyi, the printers, were inadequate in all respects and therefore transferred the commission to the firm of Kilián as from the issue for 1834. Trattner and Károlyi promptly made arrangements with Bajza's rival Szemere, with the result that for two years two rival *Auroras* appeared. The dispute resulted in clarifying the right regarding literary property.<sup>28</sup> The collection contains the original advertisement of the *Aurora* signed by its founder Károly Kisfaludy [*Hung. I. e. 6 (3)*], copies of the announcements of the rival *Auroras* by Trattner and Károlyi [*Hung. I. f. 18 (10)*] and Kilián [*Hung. I. d. 137 (13)*], an anonymous tract called *Aurora per* [*Hung. I. e. 6 (9)*] and Bajza's reply to the historian István Horváth, which first formulated the rights of an author to the enjoyment of his property [*Hung. I. e. 26*].

7. VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS. There are numerous single-sheet announcements, short tracts, and various other material relating to a great variety of Hungarian institutes of the first half of the nineteenth century, e.g. *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia* (Academy of Sciences), *Magyarországi Gazdasági Egyesület* (National Agricultural Society), the *Védegylet* which was formed to protect Hungarian products against foreign competition and founded by Kossuth in 1844, the *Nemzeti Kaszinó* established in 1827 as suggested by Széchenyi, the Gentle-women's Benevolent Association (*Jótékony Nőegyesület*), National Institute for the Blind (*Vakintézet*), the forerunner of the Hungarian Telegraphic Agency (MTI), the *Pesti Tudakozó Ház* (1790), the Agricultural School at Szarvas founded in 1780 by Sámuel Tessedik, the precursor of the National College of Music (*Pest-Budai Hangászgylet*), the Piarist School in Pest and various other towns, the National Institute of Gymnastics (*Testgyakorló Iskola*), the Hungarian Wine Society (*Magyar Borismertető Egyesület*), and many other now forgotten institutes, societies, and bodies.

8. THESES. The collection contains a great number of theses from the 1830s and 1840s; most of these were defended at the University of Pest, some at the Royal Academy at Pozsony. The majority of the theses were written on law and medicine, chiefly in Latin, with the exception of theses on medicine, which, although they usually have a Latin title-page, are written in Hungarian.

9. BOOKSELLING. A substantial part of the collection consists of catalogues and prospectuses of bookselling, printing, and publishing firms. The following list contains the names in the form they appear in the General Catalogue and the location of the firms, together with dates of the material in the collection. BARRA (Gábor), *Printing firm of Kolozsvár [1825–45]*; BEIMEL (József), *Printing firm of Esztergom [1821–34]*; EGGENBERGER (József), *Bookselling firm of Pest [1805–45]*

(the prospectuses of this firm include their news-sheet *Honi Literaturai Hirdető* for 1842-5); ELLINGER (István), *Printing firm of Kassa* [1829]; EMICH (Gusztáv), *Publishing firm of Pest* [1840-5]; GEIBEL (Károly), *Bookselling firm of Pest* [1840-5]; GRIMM (Vince), *Printing firm of Pest* [1832-50]; HARTLEBEN (Konrád), *Publishing firm of Pest* [1831-42]; HECKENAST (Gusztáv), *Publisher of Pest* [1834-40] (including his *Honi Literatura Hirdető* for 1834-7); KILIÁN (György) the Elder, *Bookselling firm of Pest* [1834-6]; KILIÁN (György) the Younger, *Publishing firm of Pest* [1833-47]; KORN (Fülöp), *Bookselling firm of Pozsony* [1843]; LANDERER (Anna), *Füskúti, Printing firm of Pest* [1825-9]; LANDERER ÉS HECKENAST, *Publishing firm of Pest* [1825-45]; LANTOSY (József), *Bookselling firm of Pest* [1840-7]; MAGYAR (Mihály), *Bookselling firm of Pest* [1848-57]; MILLER (Carl), *Bookselling firm of Pest* [1842-4]; SZUBULY (György), *Bookselling firm of Pest* [1829-30]; TILSCH ÉS FIA, *Bookselling firm of Kolozsvár* [1835-45]; TRATTNER (János Tamás), *Petróczai, Printing firm of Pest* [1816-24]; TRATTNER (Mátyás), *Petróczai, Printing firm of Pest* [1815-28]; TRATTNER ÉS KÁROLYI, *Printing firm of Pest* [1829-38]; WERFER (Károly), *Printing firm of Kassa* [1834-6]; and WIGAND (Otto), *Bookselling firm of Pest* [1820-34]. In addition, there is a collection of single-sheet prospectuses of forthcoming books issued by their authors, covering the years from 1810 to 1860, and catalogued under HUNGARY. [Appendix.—Miscellaneous].

10. MISCELLANEA. This section attempts to give some idea of the other subjects contained in the collection and also mentions some items of interest as curiosities. On art, the collection is not particularly good, but there is some material relating to the Society for the Promotion of Sculpture in Hungary (*Honi Szobrászat Ügyében Keletkezett Társaság*) and pamphlets on and by István Ferenczy [1792-1856] the sculptor. There are a number of leaflets describing various spas catalogued under the relevant place (e.g. Erdőbénye Fürdő). The collection also contains the first time-tables of the Hungarian railways (1846) [*Hung. 2. a. 1 (18)*], and material relating to the Danube-Fiume Railway Company, the First Danube Steam Shipping Co. (*Első Dunagőzhajózási Társaság*), and an invitation to the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the first permanent bridge between Buda and Pest, *Lánchíd*, built by the English engineer Adam Clark [*Hung. 1. f. 3 (14)*]. There are tracts on the teaching of shorthand (1833). A description of the wanted brigand Jóska Sobri, one of the most legendary figures of the betyárs, and of his equally ill-famed accomplices, is catalogued under MILFAIT (Ferenc) (see Pl. xxxvi). A collection of *gyászjelentés* (announcement of death) of over 400 items covering the years 1789-1863, is entered under the heading HUNGARY. [Appendix.—Miscellaneous] (*Gyászjelentés* of Károly Kisfaludy and Mihály Vörösmarty are catalogued separately); and finally there are a few tracts written on marriage, in praise of 'petticoat government', or bachelor life and entered under the headings HÁZASSÁG, HÁZIORVOSSÁG, F... NÉ, and PETERKA (József).

The above is a necessarily selective description of the Walther collection, although an attempt has been made to indicate the most unusual and surprising items.

It is particularly pleasing to reflect that this material, which stood very little chance of ever being recorded, should have been saved by the British Museum at a time when it was accused of neglecting acquisitions in the lesser-known languages of Europe.

LÓRÁNT CZIGÁNY

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the *Athenaeum*, 18 Sept. 1869, p. 371. <sup>2</sup> Ibid., 25 Aug. 1877, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Watts produced a paper on the reform of the Hungarian language ('On the recent history of the Hungarian language' in *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1855, pp. 285–310) for which the Hungarian Academy of Sciences elected him foreign corresponding member at the General Meeting on 16 Dec. 1858.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. K. Szabó, 'Régi magyar nyomtatványok egyetlen példánya a British Múzeum könyvtárában' in *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 1880, pp. 218–22. Also A. Kelecsényi, 'Nagy István élete és gyűjtőmunkája', ibid., 1963, pp. 334–40.

<sup>5</sup> List und Francke: Catalogue no. 74, item 130 (Leipzig, 1871). It was previously offered in *Verzeichniss einer werthvollen Sammlung von Büchern und Handschriften aus dem Gesamtgebiete der Ungarischen Litteratur, aus dem Nachlasse des Herrn Ladisl. Walther, etc.* No. 44, item 1231 (Leipzig, 1868).

<sup>6</sup> *Athenaeum*, 25 Aug. 1877, p. 231.

<sup>7</sup> Besides the *Athenaeum*, the Academy also took up the subject: 'the Museum still continues to Hungarian literature the enlightened patronage which distinguished it in the time of the late Mr. Thomas Watts', 23 June 1877, p. 553.

<sup>8</sup> J. Szinnyei, *Magyar trók élete és munkái*, vol. 14, coll., 1422–3.

<sup>9</sup> It was published from this collection, cf. L. Czigány, 'Egy kiadatlan Csokonai levél' (with a facsimile) in *Magyar Műhely*, 1962, sz. 3, pp. 50–3.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. G. Juhász, 'Csokonai a kicsapatás után' in *Alföld*, July 1963, pp. 78–82.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. K. Benda, *A magyar jakobinusok iratai*, 1957, vol. 1, p. 625 and passim.

<sup>12</sup> Gyűjteménye a Magyarország számdra kibocsátott legfelsőbb manifestumoknak . . . Hivatalos kiadás, 1848 szept. 22–1849 dec. 31, Buda, [1849?]. Also in German.

<sup>13</sup> *A magyar forradalom napjai*, Pest, 1848. It is considered to be the best eyewitness report. Cf. M. Benedek (ed.), *Magyar irodalmi lexikon*, 1965, vol. 2, p. 374.

<sup>14</sup> M. Holzmann–H. Bohatta, *Deutsches Anonymen Lexikon*, vol. 7, p. 287.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Gy. Kókay, 'Bessenyei György ismeretlen folyóirata' in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, vol. 71, pp. 25–34. Also id., 'Bessenyei György levele a Realzeitung szerkesztőihez' in *Magyar Könyvszemle*, vol. 83, pp. 164–7.

<sup>16</sup> By Lajos Dézsi. Quoted by Z. Trócsányi, *Régi vildg, furcsa vildg*, 1958, p. 337.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. I. Sötér (ed.), *A magyar irodalom története*, vol. 3, 1965, pp. 131–4 and passim.

<sup>18</sup> L. Czigány, 'Kölcsey második felirata az ifjak ügyében' in *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, vol. 68, pp. 368–71. Also id., 'Kölcsey és az országgyűlési ifjak pere' [with facsimile], in *Új Látóhatár*, vol. 7, pp. 54–6.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Petőfi Sándor Összes Művei, vol. 3, 1951, p. 330.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. J. Szinnyei, op. cit., vol. 10, coll. 976, where this edition is not recorded. It is, however, recorded in Petőfi Sándor, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 331.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. L. Gáldi, *A magyar szabdrírodalom a Fejlődésben korából és a Reformkorban*, 1957, p. 126 et seq.

<sup>22</sup> It has been reproduced as one of the choice items in the collection of the Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár in *The National Széchenyi Library*, 1964, p. 43.

<sup>23</sup> These were the second, fourth, and sixth theatre companies as recorded in J. Bayer, *A nemzeti játékszín története*, 2 vols., 1887.

<sup>24</sup> e.g., D. Keresztyur, *A magyar irodalom képeskönyve*, 1956, p. 168.

<sup>25</sup> L. M. Price, *Inkle and Yarico Album*, 1937, p. 155 ff. The otherwise excellent bibliography does not record the edition discussed here.

<sup>26</sup> 'Inkle és Járiko', in *Gellert! professornak erköltséges meséi*, Pécs, 1776, pp. 26–32.

<sup>27</sup> J. Szinnyei, op. cit., vol. 6, coll. 657 and J. Bayer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 388, where it is described as 'the first Hungarian musical play'.

<sup>28</sup> G. F. Cushing, 'József Bajza' in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1958, pp. 99–112

## JOHN WOLF IN FLORENCE

THE English printer John Wolf was born probably between 1545 and 1550, since it is known that he began his apprenticeship of ten years with John Day on 25 March 1562.<sup>1</sup> After 1572 he appears to have gone abroad and to have spent some years in Italy. It has been suggested that he may have worked for a time in the printing-house of the Giunta family at Florence, for of the several devices which he afterwards used in London, the best known is the fleur-de-lis which is very similar to the Giunta device. On the other hand, another of Wolf's devices was that of Gabriel Giolito, whose main printing business was in Venice. It has already been shown that Wolf must have learnt his craft well in Florence, if Petruccio Ubaldini, a Florentine exile in London who seems to have acted as editor and reader for the Italian books which Wolf published in London between 1580 and 1600, could declare that 'per studio, & diligenza di Giovanni Wolfio', Italian works could be printed as well in London as anywhere else.

It has been known for many years that two printed works have survived, both bearing the date 1576, and both published in Florence at the expense of John Wolf. One of these, *La Historia di Santo Stefano*, has been in the British Museum since March 1819, while the other, *Historia et vita di Santo Bernardino*, was purchased as recently as December 1967.

Now that the two sole survivors of an unknown total of ephemeral works printed for John Wolf in Florence may at last be studied side by side, a number of interesting observations can be made. First of all, it will be useful to give full descriptions of the two pieces.

1. 1<sup>a</sup>. [La Historia e Orazione di Santo] // Stefano Protomartire. // Quale fur eletto [sic] Diacono dalli Apostoli, e come // fu lapidato da Giudei. /// Nuouamente Ristampata. [Woodcut showing the saint standing against a conventional background of houses, hills, and trees.]
- 2<sup>b</sup>, col. 2, l. 9: IL FINE. /// In Fiorenza, Ad instanzia di Giouanni // Vuolfio Inglese. 1576.

Quarto. 2 leaves. At the foot of the title-page is the signature Hhhh. The first two lines of title are in a large gothic, the rest in roman type. The text is in 8-line stanzas of verse (*ottava rima*). It is impossible to identify the printer. At the bottom right-hand corner of the woodcut are the words 'Cō GRAZIA' (the Z being the wrong way round) and a monogram which appears to be L or LA or even ELA. The woodcut border is broken and has obviously been used before. Pressmark: C.34.h.6 (35).

This tract of two leaves forms part of a large collection of 66 pieces known as

*sacre rappresentazioni*, bound in two volumes, 65 printed at Florence or Siena between about 1540 and 1600, and one at Venice. The Museum acquired them about 1835 from the library of the well-known collector Richard Heber (1773–1833), who had bought them from the firm of Evans in March 1819. Heber wrote a note in the two volumes stating that they came from the Goldsmid sale, but this appears to have been his mistake, for according to a contemporary note in the auctioneer's file copy of the sale catalogue the books had belonged to the library of a Mr. Davenport and a Mr. Nixon.

2. 1<sup>a</sup>. HISTORIA, ET // VITA DI SANTO // BERNARDINO. // [cross] [woodcut: the Saint with two angels] 2<sup>a</sup>, col. 2. Lauda di Feo Belchari. // . . . IL FINE. // In Fiorenza, Ad instanzia di Giovanni // Vuolfio Inglese. 1576. 2<sup>b</sup>. [Woodcut.]

Quarto. 2 leaves. At the foot of the title-page is the signature Dddd. The two woodcuts in this tract are of considerably superior quality to that in no. 1 (see Pls. XLII, XLIII). Pressmark: C.125.de.1. The principal printers active in Florence in 1576 were the Giunta, the Sermartelli, and Giorgio Marescotti,<sup>2</sup> one of which firms must have been responsible at least for no. 2.

The next point to observe is that John Wolf, who could not have been much more than thirty years of age in 1576, had evidently enough capital to commission the printing of these tracts, yet it is not clear how he had hitherto managed to save enough money to become a publisher at all.

The most interesting bibliographical feature of the two tracts is probably the appearance on the title-pages of the printed signatures, Dddd and Hhhh respectively. This suggests that they were part of a very large collection of tracts all signed in this way, probably by the same printer but for a number of publishers. This phenomenon is by no means restricted to the two tracts published by John Wolf. For example, in the same collection of 66 pieces, the following have printed signatures at the foot of the title-pages as shown:

1. Il Malatesta, commedia spirituale. Fiorenza, 1575.	Signed QQQ.
2. La Rappresentatione di Abraam e di Sarra sua moglie. Fiorenza, September 1556.	Signed PP.
3. La Rappresentatione di san Grisante et daria. Firenze 1559.	Signed HH.
4. La Rapresentatione della distruzione di Saul: et del pianto di Davit. Firenze, 1559.	Signed EE.
5. La Istoria di Santo Antonino Arcivescouo di Firenze. (By Giovanmaria Tolosani.) Firenze, January 1557.	Signed Cccc.

In addition, certain other tracts have one of the following signatures printed at the foot of the title-page:

2, 3, 1†, 2†, 3†.

Two different tracts in this collection, both published by Giovanni Baleni, one in 1587 and the other in 1589, are signed 2†. It is noteworthy that this

practice of signing the title-page is peculiar to the Florentine printers and is not found in the Sienese books; the Florentine printers, of course, must have been turning them out in far greater numbers, and their use of these signatures was undoubtedly for their own convenience in keeping the tracts in their correct order: a kind of serial number.

John Wolf's name is not found again in Italy after 1576. He printed regularly in London from 1579 until his death in 1601. Many of his London printed books were in Italian or by Italian authors, but he probably never returned to Italy.

D. E. RHODES

<sup>1</sup> For John Wolf see R. B. McKerrow (editor), *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England . . . 1557-1640*, London, 1910, pp. 296-7; Harry R. Hoppe, 'John Wolfe, printer and publisher, 1579-1601', *The Library*, 4th ser., xiv (1934), pp. 241-88.

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Baleni, who published many *sacre rappresentazioni* in Florence between 1583 and 1600, seems not to have been a printer, especially as he is not mentioned by Fernanda Ascarelli, *La tipografia cinquecentina italiana*, Firenze, 1953.

## AN ITALIAN CHESS-PLAYER IN ENGLAND

CHESS as we know it today was born towards the end of the fifteenth century with the introduction of the modern moves of the Queen and Bishop. Hitherto they had been weak pieces, and the impatient Europeans had found chess a slow game. Now they called it 'chess of the mad queen' (*scacchi alla rabbiosa*, *échecs de la dame enragée*), at least until all trace of the old game was lost. It is not known where the new moves originated, but the innovation is in the same spirit as the open game and fierce attack favoured by the Italian players of the sixteenth century, such as Giovanni Leonardo called 'Il Puttino', who was poisoned by a jealous rival, and Paolo Boi, 'Il Siracusano', who also died of poison at the age of seventy.

The last of this line of Italian players was Gioacchino Greco, sometimes called 'Il Calabrese', who was born about 1600 at Celico near Cosenza in Calabria. Like other chess-players of the day he went to Rome to make his fortune, and like other chess-players he presented his patrons with manuscript collections of openings. He travelled to France in 1621 and crossed over to England the following year to reap the advantage of his 'know-how'. There he was robbed of 5,000 crowns which he had won at chess. In England he hit on the happy idea of presenting his patrons with collections of complete games, that is, adding his own continuations to the standard collections of openings. These collections of games were much treasured and one, Sloane MS. 1937, came into the library of Sir Hans Sloane and thence to the British Museum. Greco returned to Paris in 1624 and revised his collection of games. The revised version was published

in French in 1669 and was an enormous success, being translated into several languages in at least forty-one editions.

A selection of games from one of the English manuscripts (which is no longer extant) was published in 1656 in London by Francis Beale with the title: 'The Royall Game of Chesse-Play. Sometimes the recreation of the late King, with many of the Nobility. Illustrated with almost an hundred Gambetts. Being the study of Biochimo the famous Italian' ('Biochimo' is clearly intended for 'Gioachino'). Beale's definition of 'gambett' is interesting but misleading: 'A Gambett signifies here a game, so contrived, that he which loseth shall have a palpable reason for every remove he maketh, whereas the reasons of the removes of the winner are so hard to be found out, that they seem rather preposterous, and un-fitting, which sheweth the excellent contrivance and invention of the Authors of them.' In fact, the loser usually plays so badly as to invite the brilliancy with which Greco demolishes him. The standard of play in England at the time was very low and the ease with which Greco disposed of his opponent is illustrated by a single folio in English found among the miscellaneous papers of Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and first Duke of Leeds, who was born in 1632, was impeached in 1678, and died in 1712.<sup>1</sup> The folio is undated, but the handwriting appears to belong to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, that is, to Danby's youth. It derives from a manuscript in Italian similar to Sloane MS. 1937 and not from Beale's book, as can be seen by a comparison of the heading and first two moves of White and Black. Beale (p. 50) has:

Gambett XXI.

White kings pawn two houses.

Black the same.

White kings knight to his bishops third house.

Black queens pawn one house.

The Sloane MS. (f. 2) has:

Un altro modo di giochare con tratti belli.

B. p. di suo Re 2. case.

N. Fara il simile.

B. C. di suo Re alla 3a. casa di suo A.

N. p. di suo D. 1a. casa.

where the abbreviations are B. = Bianco (White), N. = Nero (Black), C. = Cavallo (Knight), D. = Dama (Queen), and A. = Alfin or Alfil (Bishop). The word Alfil comes from the Arabic word meaning 'the elephant'.

The Leeds leaf reads as follows:

A good manner of play

W: p: of y<sup>e</sup> K<sup>s</sup> 2 houses

B: p: y<sup>e</sup> like

W: K<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Kg to y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> house of his B<sup>p</sup>  
 B: p: of y<sup>e</sup> Q: 1 house  
 W: Bp: of y<sup>e</sup> Kg: to y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> house of y<sup>e</sup> Q: Bp:  
 B: Bp: of y<sup>e</sup> Q: to y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> house of y<sup>e</sup> contr: Kgs K<sup>t</sup>  
 W: p: of y<sup>e</sup> Kgs Ro: 1 house

B: Bp: of y<sup>e</sup> Q: takes y<sup>e</sup> contr: Kgs K<sup>t</sup>  
 W: Q: takes y<sup>e</sup> contr: Q: Bp   
 B: K<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Kg: to y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> house of his B<sup>p</sup>  
 W: Q: to her K<sup>ts</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> house  
 B: K<sup>t</sup> takes y<sup>e</sup> contr: Kgs: p:  
 W: B<sup>p</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Kg takes y<sup>e</sup> p: of y<sup>e</sup> contr: Kgs B<sup>p</sup> & checks  
 B: Kg to his Qs 2<sup>d</sup> house  
 W: Q: giues checke at y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> house of y<sup>e</sup> contr: Kg  
 B: Kg: to y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> house of his Q<sup>s</sup> B<sup>p</sup>  
 W: Q: checks at y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> house of y<sup>e</sup> contr: Q:  
 B: Kg: to y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> house of his Queenes K<sup>t</sup>  
 W: Q: takes y<sup>e</sup> contr: Kgs K<sup>t</sup> & will winn

The former varied from this marke

B: K<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Kg to his B<sup>ps</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> house  
 W: Q: to her K<sup>ts</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> house  
 B: Q: to her owne 2<sup>d</sup> house  
 W: Q: takes y<sup>e</sup> p: of y<sup>e</sup> contr: Q<sup>s</sup> K<sup>t</sup>  
 B: Q: to her B<sup>ps</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> house  
 W: B<sup>p</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Kg: to y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> house of y<sup>e</sup> contr: Q<sup>s</sup> K<sup>t</sup>  
 B: Q: takes y<sup>e</sup> contr: B<sup>p</sup>  
 W: Q: takes y<sup>e</sup> contr: Q & will winn:

On the reverse: A mate at Chesse

In modern notation the game goes:

1. P-K4, P-K4;	6. Q-QN3, N×KP;
2. N-KB3, P-Q3;	7. B×P ch, K-Q2;
3. B-B4, B-KN5;	8. Q-K6 ch, K-B3;
4. P-KR3, B×N;	9. Q-Q5 ch, K-N3;
5. Q×B, N-KB3;	10. Q×N and wins.

Variation:

6. Q-QN3, Q-Q2;	8. B-QN5, Q×B;
7. Q×QNP, Q-B3;	9. Q×Q and wins.

This game, which illustrates the so-called 'Philidor Defence' which was known in sixteenth-century Italy some two hundred years before the great Philidor popularized it, is clearly in the open Italian style brought to England by Greco. Both main line and variation appear in Beale as Gambett XXI (p. 50) and Gambett XXIV (p. 52); the main line appears also in the B.M. Greco

manuscript, Sloane MS. 1937, fols. 27, 27b. It is also clear that Black digs his own grave. Black's fifth move, 5...N-KB3, is a bad one; the right move is 5...Q-Q2. Greco must have known this as it was known to one of his predecessors, Giulio Cesare Polerio of Lanciano, who accompanied Giovanni Leonardo on his victorious visit to Spain in 1574 and who was reckoned the first player of Rome in 1606. In a manuscript<sup>2</sup> dated about 1585-90 that belonged to Polerio there is an annotated game<sup>3</sup> as follows:

1. P-K4, P-K4;	5. Q×B, Q-Q2;
2. N-KB3, P-Q3;	6. Q-QN3, P-QB3;
3. B-B4, B-N5;	7. P-QR4, N-B3;
4. P-KR3, B×N;	8. N-B3 and White is well developed.

The note on Black's fifth move reads: 'et giocando altramente perderebbe il gioco solo con questo tratto'.<sup>4</sup> It is this note which tells us that Polerio, and therefore Greco, knew that Black's fifth move in the Leeds leaf is a disastrously bad one.

Greco then took advantage of weak play, but the lesson is by no means negligible. It is valuable to learn how to take advantage of bad play, and if it redounds the more to the credit of such an excellent entertainer as Greco, we are surely not justified in carping at his success.

T. S. PATTIE

<sup>1</sup> Egerton MS. 3385B.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Leon, 'A Polerio MS.', *British Chess Magazine*, 14, 1894, pp. 317-36. This manuscript is now in the John G. White Collection of the Cleveland Public Library (W 789.0937 M-Sca 19).

<sup>3</sup> Game no. XLII in the Polerio MS.; Game no. 83 in A. van der Linde, *Schachspiel des 16ten Jahrhunderts*, 1874.

<sup>4</sup> 'Otherwise he would lose the game with this move alone.'

## KIRTANA-GHOṢĀ—AN ILLUSTRATED ASSAMESE MANUSCRIPT

THE Museum has recently acquired an illustrated copy of the Kirtana-ghoṣā of Śankaradeva. This manuscript is written on *tūlapāṭ*, country-made paper of pressed cotton. Originally it had 204 folios, but it is defective at the beginning and the end, and has a lacuna from fols. 118-30, and some other missing leaves. Moreover, each folio consists of two separate sheets lightly stitched at the edges; many of these have become detached, and in some cases only one-half of the folio has survived, so that it now totals 179 fols. It appears to have been copied in the early eighteenth century.

The author's dates are traditionally given as A.D. 1449-1568, but Gait in his *History of Assam* (2nd ed., Calcutta, 1926) thinks that his date of birth should be thirty or forty years later. Śankaradeva was responsible for the establishment of reformed Vaiṣṇavism in Assam, and is reckoned as a founding father of

Assamese literature. He was a contemporary of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava leader, Caitanya (1485–1533).

The Kirtana-ghoṣā is a cycle of poems designed for congregational devotions, the *pada* or stanza being sung by the leader, and the *ghoṣā* or refrain by the assembly. They are Assamese renderings of parts of the 10th skandha of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, with some sections from other parts of this work, as well as from the Brahma-purāṇa and Padma-purāṇa. The order of the individual poems varies somewhat in different recensions, and their total number from 26 to 29. An English summary, but with the poems in a variant order, is given by B. K. Barua in his *Studies in Early Assamese Literature* (Nowgong, Assam, 1953), pp. 11–21.

The Museum has another manuscript of the Kirtana-ghoṣā (Add. 12234). This, a fine copy on leaves of Sāncī bark (*aquilaria agallocha*), dated A.D. 1764, is probably a little later than Or. 13086. This was described by J. F. Blumhardt in the *B.M. Catalogue of Bengali, Assamese, and Oriya Manuscripts* (1905), item 23, pp. 18–19, including the names of the various poems in Assamese. Nos. 1–9 of his list deal with incarnations of Viṣṇu and aspects of meditation; nos. 10–25 relate incidents from the life of Krṣṇa; 26 and 27 are an appendix; 26 is the Sahasra-nāma-vṛttānta, or recitation of the thousand divine names of Viṣṇu, by Ratnākar Kandali, a disciple of Śankaradeva; 27, the Uresā-varṇana is by Śankaradeva, and relates the establishment of Jagan-nātha and other temples in Orissa.

In the new manuscript (Or. 13086), poems 1–9 correspond approximately to the text of Add. 12234, except that no. 8, the Hara-mohana, in which the divine attributes are described in erotic terms in reference to a heavenly nymph, was excluded by the scribe. Furthermore, the lacunae at fols. 109–10 and 118–30 of the original numbering mean that poems 14 (the story of Kubjira), 17 (the story of Kalayavana, killed by the glance of Mucukunda), and 18 (the Syamanta-harāṇa, relating how Krṣṇa recovered a magic gem), are missing.

With the exception of seven sides, every page of Or. 13086 is illustrated. Mr. D. E. Barrett commenting on the style says:

It is probably no earlier than the 18th century A.D., but its simplicity of line and presentation probably reflects an earlier, now lost, pictorial style. Certainly the illustrations have much in common with the 16th and 17th centuries A.D. painted book-covers from Bengal and Bihar, of which there is a small, but important, group in the Department of Oriental Antiquities.

Another manuscript in an Indian collection is almost certainly a companion of the present one. This other work was obtained from the Vaisnava settlement Balisattra, in the Nowgong District of Assam. It has been published by H. N. Datta Barua as *Citra-Bhāgavata: Reproductions in an illuminated manuscript of Skandha 10 of the Assamese Bhāgavata by Śankaradeva* (2nd ed., published by

the author, Nalbari, Assam, 1956). The illustrations in this manuscript are possibly by the same artist as in the new one acquired by the Museum. The style of the Bhāgavata illustrations and other contemporary miniature painting is discussed by Maheśvar Neog in *The Art of Painting in Assam* (Gauhati, 1959).

The illustrations of Or. 13086 are in water-colour, and are of two or three types. The most frequent is a long narrow rectangle at the bottom of the leaf with from two to six lines of text above. These pictures show characters in the stories in profile, against plain red or blue backgrounds, and are often captioned, or at least the individuals represented are identified by name. Another type occupies the whole page, which is enclosed in a red flowered border, with the scene and two or three lines of verse within.

Among the most lively series of pictures are those illustrating the story of Gajendra, an elephant who was saved from a fierce crocodile by praying to Viṣṇu (fols. 31–3); incidents from Kṛṣṇa's boyhood, in the section called Śiśulilā (fols. 46–63); Kṛṣṇa's dance with the gopī maidens, the Rāsakṛiḍa (fols. 64–82), which gives details of Assamese women's dress, and at 75v shows dancers in a ring ranged all round the border of the page against a red background, empaneling two lines of verse. This should be compared with the similar picture at fol. 93a of the Citra-Bhāgavata. The story of the defeat of Kamsa, king of Mathurā, at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, has pictures of dramatic quality with scenes of chariots, elephant fights, bowmen, warriors with clubs, and wrestlers.

This manuscript, of considerable artistic interest, is of an important and still much-loved text by the best-known of classical Assamese authors, Śāṅkaradeva. It is a happy coincidence that the British Museum has acquired this document at about the fourth centenary of his death.

G. E. MARRISON

## FOUR GREEK ROSETTES AGAIN

FOUR enamelled gold rosettes were acquired by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in 1963 with the aid of a generous grant from the National Art-Collections Fund (Pl. XLVII *a–e*). A description of them was published in this journal, in which it was suggested that they were Greek work of about the end of the fifth century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Their purpose was not established.

At the time of publication, thirty-one such rosettes were known, distributed among a number of public and private collections. Since then, the number of known examples has greatly increased, and seems now to stand at around sixty.

For this reason, and for others, the authenticity of these rosettes has been called in question. The principal objections, which have been for the most part circulated privately, are six in number:

1. That there are too many of them in existence.
2. That they are all in too good a state of preservation.
3. That their purpose is unknown.
4. That the remains of earth between the two layers of petals is inconsistent with their state of preservation.
5. That the enamel-work is not ancient.
6. That the wire of the stamens is drawn and has been subsequently engraved to give the impression of being rolled or twisted.

It is, of course, perfectly possible that some of the rosettes are ancient, others not; but this paper is of necessity concerned only with the four examples in the British Museum, which must stand or fall on stylistic or technical considerations only.

I am not prepared to regard any of the first three objections as particularly damning; all could, for example, have been levelled at the gold objects excavated by Schliemann in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. A suggestion made to me privately<sup>2</sup> appears to dispose of all three objections: the rosettes could have decorated a wooden coffin, buried in a built tomb. The fourth objection need not detain us, since it does not carry much weight.

Objection no. 5 deserves more consideration. One of the rosettes was submitted to Dr. A. E. Werner, Keeper of the B.M. Research Laboratory in 1967 for examination, with particular reference to the enamel. His conclusions were as follows:

Although the rosette is made of purer gold than the other pieces of Greek jewellery examined, and the presence of chromium in the blue/green enamel is unexpected, the method of construction is consistent with the method used for making Greek jewellery. The type of weathering on the enamel appears completely genuine, and it is very difficult to believe that it has not occurred naturally. The results of this scientific examination tend to support the authenticity of this object.

The unexpected presence of chromium was satisfactorily explained by Dr. Werner in June 1968. He reports as follows:

Recently we have had the occasion to examine two green tesserae from mosaics, one from the Stabian Baths at Pompeii (early first century A.D. date) and one from the House of Dolphins at Delos (*ca.* 100 B.C. date). In both samples qualitative spectrographic analysis showed the presence of chromium as well as lead, copper, and antimony, and in the case of the sample from the Stabian Baths it was possible to carry out a quantitative spectrophotometric analysis. This showed that the amount of chromium present was only 0·004 per cent. These results as far as the presence of chromium is concerned, suggest that it may have been an impurity in the sand used for making the glass for the tesserae. W. W. Weyl in his book *Coloured Glasses* (p. 132) reports similar small amounts of chromium in some sands used for glass-making in England and the U.S.A. It is reasonable to presume that the presence of chromium in the enamel rosette may be derived from a similar source.

Also the presence of chromium in these tesserae suggests that the discovery of traces of chromium in the enamel of the rosettes is not so unexpected as was at first thought, and certainly cannot be taken as evidence that the rosettes are of recent date.

In January 1968 analyses made in Germany of (*inter alia*) the enamel of other rosettes from this group, were received and submitted to Dr. Werner. These analyses purported to prove, amongst other things, that the enamel was not ancient; but Dr. Werner's examination of them led to the following conclusion: 'I don't think that these German analyses in themselves can lead to any positive conclusion about the authenticity of the rosettes. I don't see any reason for changing the opinion expressed in my original report.'

And now for the sixth objection. In February 1968 a letter was received to the effect that in a rosette of this group (not one of the British Museum examples), the stalks of the stamens radiating from the enamel petals are of drawn wire, and cannot therefore be ancient.

The result of Dr. Werner's examination is worth quoting in full.

A further examination of the four gold rosettes from Thessaly has been carried out in order to investigate the claim that the stalks of the stamens radiating from the enamel petals are made of drawn wire, which has subsequently been engraved with spirals to give the impression of being rolled or twisted.

This examination has shown:

1. The wires forming the stalks vary in diameter and cross-section and do not show longitudinal striations which one would expect to find on drawn gold wire.
2. The pitch of the helical markings varies from stalk to stalk and also the cross-section of the thread varies in shape, some being actually undercut. It would be impossible to reproduce this by engraving.
3. The individual variations found in each stalk indicate that each has been made separately and not cut off from a length of drawn wire.

It is thus clear that the claim that these stalks are made from drawn wire is quite untenable.

In connection with this whole question, it is interesting to note that in the catalogue entry dealing with the rosettes from this group shown in an exhibition in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, it is stated that the stamen-stalks (actually referred to as 'stems') are made of strip-twisted wire<sup>3</sup>—a term which is defined elsewhere in the catalogue as 'twisting a ribbon of gold foil in the way soda straws are made'.<sup>4</sup> Actually I think coiling is meant rather than twisting. However, examination of our rosettes shows quite clearly that the stamen-stalks are solid and have been block-twisted i.e. the strip of metal used was of square or rectangular cross-section. Also examination of a pendant in the form of a bull's head from Camirus [no. 1198, Pl. XLIX a, b] which is of undoubted authenticity, shows that the twisted wires are solid in cross-section, and their method of fabrication is similar to that used for the stamen stalks of the rosettes.

This all means that the reference to the use of drawn wire is incorrect, and has no bearing whatever on the question of the authenticity of the rosettes. There is, therefore, no reason to alter our contention that the scientific examination of these rosettes tends to support their authenticity.

In support of this report are shown a series of photographs (Pls. XLVIII–XLIX), prepared by Miss Mavis Bimson of the Research Laboratory, to illustrate the methods used in making the wires, to which the following notes are appended:

Plate XLVIII *a*. Part of rosette (reg. no. 1963 5–24 1 *d*), showing the varying pitch and depth of the 'screw thread' on the stamen wires. These have been made by block twisting (see Pl. XLIX *c* below).

Plate XLVIII *b*. Part of rosette (reg. no. 1963 5–24 1 *a*) with a modern wire made by the block twisting method lying beside a stamen.

Plate XLIX *a*. Block-twisted wire on a gold pendant from Camirus (no. 1198), which is very similar to those on the rosettes.

Plate XLIX *b*. Pendant no. 1198. The wire at the base of the bull's left horn is shown enlarged on Plate XLIX *a*.

Plate XLIX *c*. A photograph to illustrate two methods of making wire for Hellenistic jewellery.

Above: *Block-twist*: a strip of metal, square or rectangular in cross-section, is twisted about its major axis. The resulting wire is solid, with a screw thread of variable pitch, and may be rolled on a flat surface to give a better finish.

Below: *Strip-coil*: a strip of metal foil is coiled to make a hollow tube. This is a more difficult technique than block-twist.<sup>5</sup>

Plate XLIX *d*. Modern block-twisted wires, showing the variable appearance depending on the degree of twisting and rolling.

R. A. HIGGINS

<sup>1</sup> *B.M.Q.* xxviii (1964), p. 20. Reg. no. 1963 5–24 1 *a–d*. (Brooklyn and Mainz, 1965), p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> By Dr. H. Hoffmann.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36. Referred to as 'strip-twist'.

<sup>3</sup> H. Hoffmann and P. Davidson, *Greek Gold*

## A REHABILITATED FORGERY

**I**N these days of active forgery-hunting, when some of the finer objects of our classical past have been shown to be the products of mercenary, latter-day deceivers, it is pleasant to record a slight reversal in the trend, although small and insignificant. Amongst the collection of reproductions and forgeries in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities is a small feeding-bottle, for a baby or an invalid.<sup>1</sup> After some cursory examinations at different times over the past few years it became apparent that the fabric was very convincing to the unaided eye. The painted figures decorating it are, however, stylistically most unlikely and were evidently the cause of its rejection as modern at some time before the last war. There seemed to be good grounds for the reconsideration of this opinion.

The feeding bottle is a small, ring-shaped vessel with a flattened spout and slit orifice. Opposite the spout is the filling-hole, which had at one time a cylindrical or funnel-shaped neck, now lost. Within the neck, pierced through the top of the body, is a strainer formed by numerous closely spaced holes. At the side, at right-angles to the strainer-spout axis of the feeder, is a horizontal loop handle. The base-ring is neatly turned. The fabric is light brown in colour, containing much mica in very small particles and decorated with a black glaze.<sup>2</sup> The under-side, including the resting surface of the base-ring, the lower part of the central tube, a band of zig-zag decoration on the shoulder and a wide band on the upper side are left reserved. These reserved areas are covered with a thinned glaze wash. The handle and the spout are glazed; there are indications that the missing neck was also coated with glaze.

The wide reserved band on the upper side is decorated with a series of figures in black-figure technique, with incised details and added red colouring, standing on a circular ground-line. The scene represents a vigorous, but crudely executed, hunt taking place. Following the frieze round clockwise from the filling-hole, the first figure is that of a bearded man, protecting his left hand with a cloak and thrusting a spear towards a lion; blood flows from wounds in the lion's chest and flank. Next is a satyr, holding in his left hand a rope which is tied to a hind leg of the lion. With his other hand he pulls, over his shoulder, on a rope attached to the left leg of a fallen man, who bleeds from his right knee. These figures form one group; a second group moves in an anti-clockwise direction from the filling-hole: a man strides after a hound, a bag for sling-bullets hanging from his shoulder in front of him, holding a sling in his hands. The hound chases a stag which has been struck by two spears, both of which have drawn blood. Despite differences in the style of painting, it seems probable that the painter was influenced by the figures (and their method of presentation) often found on Athenian band cups of the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.<sup>3</sup> This is the approximate date proposed for the feeder.

In determining the antiquity of such an object as this, four possibilities should be borne in mind: (*a*) the entire feeder is false and was made at one time, the body thrown, the handle, spout and filling-hole mouth applied, and the whole thing fired, to be subsequently painted with the scene and decoration; (*b*) a modern, unfired, painted decoration has been applied to a plain, ancient body; (*c*) the forgery was made by employing the same decorative methods used in antiquity: painting with an illite-rich slip and subjecting it to a three-stage (oxidation-reduction-oxidation) firing; (*d*) the piece is wholly ancient and the decoration is fixed by the firing process.

On examination in the Departmental Workroom by Mr. D. W. Akehurst, Senior Conservation Officer, possibilities (*a*) and (*b*) were ruled out. He showed that the decorative features and the glaze could not be removed with solvents and

must have been fired on. Thus, possibility (*d*), that the feeder and its decoration is ancient, would seem to be correct because (*c*) can be discounted, as the object reached the Museum well before the rediscovery, from 1942 onwards, by Dr. Theodor Schumann and other workers on ancient pottery production, of the techniques and substances employed.<sup>4</sup> Another pointer towards establishing its authenticity is the presence on the underside of an incrustation which appears to be an ancient one, formed over a long period and bearing no relation to the applied incrustations often found on false antiquities.

Having come to the conclusion that the object is ancient, the next step is to try to locate its place of manufacture. Its acquisition from an Athenian dealer is a slight indication of a Greek mainland find-spot. Unfortunately, no parallels to the style of the painted figures, to the decorative features, or to the shape are known to the writer. It is very much simpler to say where it is unlikely to have been made. It is not Athenian or Corinthian, both fabric and style show this and the following can be eliminated for the same reasons (in many cases the published pieces are much later in date than our pot is likely to be, therefore to reject a locality on a later style alone is possibly, but not probably, hazardous): Clazomenian<sup>5</sup> and Ionic Black Figure;<sup>6</sup> the Northampton Group of Black Figure;<sup>7</sup> the Group of the Campana Dinoi;<sup>8</sup> Argive Black Figure;<sup>9</sup> Andrian;<sup>10</sup> Laconian;<sup>11</sup> Etruscan Black Figure;<sup>12</sup> and Campanian Black Figure.<sup>13</sup> The liveliness of the figures on the Campanian pots and their streaky, attenuated painting has something in common with ours, but the style is different and the fabric very much so. Although this list is not exhaustive, it does cover the main areas of black-figured pottery manufacture which might be suggested for our feeder<sup>14</sup> except for that most varied but, in many ways, Athens-orientated production area, Boeotia and the adjacent Euboea.

There are many Boeotian black-figure groups: the early Silhouette Black Figure,<sup>15</sup> the Cabiran vases from Thebes,<sup>16</sup> and the late fifth-century vases from various sites—South Boeotian<sup>17</sup> and North Boeotian (or perhaps Phocian).<sup>18</sup> None of these is in a style near that of the feeder, although the activities of some of the figures on the Cabiran vases may be considered in passing. However, in no case is the fabric of these pots very close to that of the feeder and most of them are likely to be too late for any valid comparison. There is nothing in the recent article on Boeotian vases by Sparkes<sup>19</sup> to encourage the placing of our feeder there, although the Boeotians, with their fondness for painting scenes unknown elsewhere in Greek vase painting, as on the lidless lekanis at Adolphseck,<sup>20</sup> cannot be dismissed with certainty.<sup>21</sup> As Sparkes points out, much more excavation must take place in Boeotia before its possibilities are fully realized.

The Euboean material is also very discouraging. The vases from Eretria<sup>22</sup> have nothing in common with our piece, although they are approximately of the same date. None of a recently published group of Eretrian lekanai has figures

resembling ours.<sup>23</sup> Vases of the later Euboean Floral Black Figure Style<sup>24</sup> can be safely ignored.

There is one major group of black figure yet to be considered, the controversial Chalcidian ware.<sup>25</sup> On the face of it, the possibility of our feeder being Chalcidian could be dismissed: the style of the figures is so utterly different, almost ethereal compared with the normal squat, dumpy figures. However, the fabric is very close indeed in colour, texture, and the appearance of the glaze. The roughly-applied thinned glaze wash coating the reserved areas of the feeder is paralleled very closely, for instance, on *B.M.C. Vases* B 155, although many Chalcidian vases have an extremely smooth, clear background, indicating a polished, rather than a washed, surface. It is certain that Chalcidian vase painting was heavily influenced by Athenian decorated pots.<sup>26</sup> Whether the centre of production thus influenced was in Greece or Italy is not yet capable of resolution.<sup>27</sup> It is legitimate to argue, however, that workshops which gained much of their inspiration from the more monumental Athenian painted vases might well employ a painter who, when confronted with a minor object like our feeder, took as his guide the reserved band and miniature figures of the contemporary Athenian band cup. This having been said, however, it must be stressed that the style of the figures has nothing in common with known Chalcidian vases: only the fabric points strongly in that direction. The feeder, then, is a problem piece, but even so, or perhaps especially so, it seems worthwhile to retrieve it from the comparative obscurity of the forgeries collection where it has been for so long.

D. M. BAILEY

<sup>1</sup> Registration no. 1920 10-14 2 (Pl. 1). D. 9·2, Ht. 4·1 cm. Purchased from an Athenian dealer. I would like to thank Dr. Ann Birchall for reading the text and making many helpful suggestions; also Mr. John Boardman for his stimulating comments on the feeder. However, I must take the responsibility of advocating an earlier date for it than he felt to be likely. Miss M. O. Miller kindly drew the outline profile. The feeder is an unbroken, closed vessel; it is impossible to draw a normal profile as it is pointless to guess at the thickness of the walls. As printed, the drawing has been reduced to an indeterminate scale.

<sup>2</sup> The term, glaze, is employed here as usage permits it. It is not, of course, a true (i.e. vitreous) glaze but a sintered slip coloured by iron oxide.

<sup>3</sup> However, unlike the majority of even the most diminutive of the Athenian figures, on the feeder the genitalia are not indicated by incision, or, indeed, at all.

<sup>4</sup> This argument does not dispose of the extremely unlikely possibility that a modern forger might have rediscovered the ancient techniques

before 1920 (the date of acquisition). The most recent synthesis and expansion of our knowledge of these techniques is published in J. V. Noble, *The Technique of Painted Attic Pottery*.

<sup>5</sup> *B.S.A.* 47, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 60, pls. 23 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 47, pp. 149 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Mon Piot* xlili, p. 33 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *B.S.A.* 48, pl. 17, El and *B.C.H.* lxxix, p. 1 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *C.Y.A. California University*, p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> *J.H.S. Supp. Paper 5: Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, pp. 94-106.

<sup>12</sup> T. Dohrn, *Die schwarzfiguren etruskischen Vasen*.

<sup>13</sup> *Arch. Classica* xvi, pls. ix-xvii.

<sup>14</sup> The flamboyant Caeretan, Pontic, and Cymean Black Figure can be dismissed immediately.

<sup>15</sup> *J.H.S.* xliv, pp. 160 ff.

<sup>16</sup> P. Wolters and G. Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*.

<sup>17</sup> *B.S.A.* 41, pp. 22 ff.; *J.H.S.* xlvi, pp. 54 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Hesperia*, xv, pp. 30 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *J.H.S.* lxxxvii, pp. 116 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *C.V.A.* Adolphseck, *Schloss Fasanerie* 2, pls. 63-4.

<sup>21</sup> Mr. J. Boardman verbally suggested Boeotia as a possibility worth bearing in mind for the feeder, but he also felt that a date in the fifth century B.C. was more likely than the date put forward here.

<sup>22</sup> *B.S.A.* 47, pp. 39 ff. and *ibid.* 52, pp. 18 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *J.H.S.* pls. ix-xv.

<sup>24</sup> *B.S.A.* 55, pl. 52 ff.

<sup>25</sup> A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*.

<sup>26</sup> R.M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>27</sup> See *B.S.A.* 52, pp. 12-14, for a recent discussion of this problem.

## TERRACOTTAS

OF the terracottas acquired by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities since 1962, the following are particularly worthy of note.<sup>1</sup>

1-4. Four terracottas bought in 1966 from the collection of the late Captain E. G. Spencer-Churchill.

1. (Pl. 11a) A standing figure of a woman, or perhaps a goddess, made in Boeotia about 550 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The body is hand-made and almost completely flat, but flares slightly at the base. The head was made separately in a mould and attached before firing. The figure is well preserved and much of the original colouring, in red, black, and yellow, has survived.

She stands with her arms stretched out in front of her, wearing a tunic (*peplos*) decorated with red, yellow, and black stripes, a red girdle, and disc-shaped earrings painted red and black. Her long black hair falls on her shoulders, and on her head was originally a tall cylindrical head-dress which is now lost. She has a somewhat gaunt, but carefully modelled face, with a long nose and a pointed chin; lips and cheeks are lavishly decorated with red paint. A typical Boeotian product, this piece is closely paralleled by one from a tomb at Rhitsona of about 550 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

2. (Pl. 11b) A figure of an enthroned goddess, made in Boeotia about 480 B.C.<sup>4</sup> The figure is made from a number of separate elements, assembled before firing, the goddess herself being formed erect in a mould and then bent to fit the throne. The piece is in good condition, and much of the original colour survives. She sits stiffly on an elaborate throne, her forearms stretched forward. Both hands are now missing, but a photograph in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, taken in or before 1906, shows that she originally held a dove in her right hand. Her feet rest on an elaborate footstool. She wears a red tunic (*chiton*), a grey-blue cloak (*himation*) draped bandolier-wise over her left shoulder, a red shawl over her head, and shoes. In her red, elaborately waved hair is set a crown (*stephane*) and in her ears are disc-shaped earrings. Her face is thin, with almond-shaped eyes, a long nose, and a pointed chin.

The throne has arm-rails resting on columnar supports and terminating in rosettes, and a back with palmette-finials projecting upwards and sideways. The footstool has elaborately carved legs. No other figurine like this is known. In many ways it resembles a common Athenian standing type of the early fifth century B.C.<sup>5</sup> That indeed must be its date, but the character of the clay and the technique show this piece to be not Athenian but Boeotian.

3. (Pl. LIIa, b) A figure of an enthroned goddess, made in Athens about 500 B.C.<sup>6</sup> The figure is hollow, the front moulded, the back hand-made. It is in good condition, and retains a certain amount of the original colour. She sits stiffly on a throne with a winged back, her hands on her knees, her feet on a footstool. She has a full face with a slight smile, and her hair is arranged in an arch of tight curls across her forehead. She wears a tunic (*chiton*) and a cloak (*himation*) draped symmetrically and going over her head. On her head, above the cloak, is a crown (*stephane*). Traces of black paint survive on throne, drapery, crown, and eyes; of red on throne, crown, drapery, and lips. The face, which gives a date of about 500 B.C., is modelled in more detail and in a later style than the body; and it has been suggested that the figure is an adaptation of the venerable olive-wood Athena which was kept in the Erechtheum and in its predecessor on the Acropolis.<sup>7</sup> Figures like this one were discovered in their hundreds on the Athenian Acropolis, where they had been buried after the Persian sack of 480 B.C.; others have been found in tombs in Athens and elsewhere.

4. (Pl. LIII) Woman cooking.<sup>8</sup> The figure is composed of a number of elements made separately and attached before firing. The woman's head is made in a mould, but all the rest by hand. A certain amount of the original colour survives, and the figure is complete but for her arms, which are now missing. She sits on a four-legged stool in front of an oven, in which a loaf is shown cooking. She wears a yellow tunic (*chiton*) over a red undergarment, shoes, and a black ribbon round her hair. Surprisingly enough, her face is painted a deep red, a colour usually reserved for male flesh. Under the oven is a pile of glowing brushwood, also painted red. This study of domestic life belongs to a common class of genre pieces made in Boeotia in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.<sup>9</sup>

5. (Pl. LIVa, b) Boy, cock, and pig.<sup>10</sup> This unusual piece was assembled from a number of separate parts, attached before firing; most were made in moulds. A boy with negroid features, wearing a conical cap, squats in front of a basin, in which lies a trussed piglet, his hands poised over the pig's body. On his back perches a cock.

This piece is a complete puzzle. In many respects it resembles the Boeotian genre pieces of the years around 500 B.C., such as the woman cooking, no. 4 above; but the clay almost certainly comes from Locri in South Italy. The basin is best paralleled by terracotta cradles of the fifth century B.C. and later;<sup>11</sup> but

it must in fact be some sort of sacrificial or cooking vessel. The cock is equally inexplicable; but it is a common ingredient in Locrian clay reliefs of the fifth century B.C. connected with the worship of Persephone.<sup>12</sup>

In the absence of further enlightenment it is tentatively suggested that the group was made at Locri in the early fifth century B.C., and that it may have some connection with the worship of Persephone.

6. (Pl. lva) Figure of a woman.<sup>13</sup> The figure is hollow, moulded front and back. The front is moulded with great care, and certain additions have been made after moulding. Much of the original colour remains. The back is roughly modelled and scraped; in it is a small circular vent-hole about 1 cm. in diameter. The plaque-base was made separately.

She stands frontally with her weight on her left leg, her arms bent across her body; in her right hand she holds a scent bottle (painted red and yellow) of the kind known today as an *alabastron* from the fact that scent bottles of this shape were frequently made from alabaster. Her lips and hair are painted red. She wears a tunic (*chiton*) decorated with bands of grey-blue and red and tied at the waist with a yellow girdle; a cloak (*himation*) which goes over her head; and red shoes. On top of her head, and over the cloak, she originally wore a hat like a Chinese coolie-hat, but this is now missing.

The style of this figurine is the so-called Tanagra style of 330–200 B.C. A date towards the beginning of this period, in the late fourth or early third century B.C., is suggested by the frontality of the pose. The modelling is especially fine, and the original colours have survived to an unusual extent. The figure was found at the village of Mudros near the shrine of St. Menas, just outside Alexandria in Egypt.<sup>14</sup> The clay, however, is not Egyptian but is paralleled in a few rare figurines from Boeotia;<sup>15</sup> and this piece would appear to have been exported in antiquity from Boeotia to Alexandria.

7. (Pl. lvb) A figure of an actor wearing a toga and carrying a scroll in his left hand.<sup>16</sup> The piece is hollow; the back is not moulded. Much of the original colour has survived; in particular, the toga is bright blue. The absence of a mask and the grotesque features reveal that he is an actor from the Mimes, and the costume indicates that he is playing the part of an influential Roman. The type is dated in the first century A.D. by its occurrence at Pompeii;<sup>17</sup> another Campanian site, Cumae, has also produced an example.<sup>18</sup> For these reasons this will also be Campanian. The clay suits.

8. (Pl. lvia, b) Man playing a water-organ.<sup>19</sup> The piece is hollow; it was moulded back and front, and the organist was attached after moulding. It is covered throughout with an orange-red glaze. In front are two small lamp-nozzles, but they are so meagre and so poorly sited that the figure seems unlikely ever to have

been intended for use as a lamp. It was acquired in Tunis, and was almost certainly made in Carthage, since there is a very similar piece from Carthage in the Musée Lavigerie.<sup>20</sup> Its date is the second or third century A.D.

Apart from the man's head the piece is complete. The water-organ (*hydraulis*) was a favourite Roman instrument, being especially popular when played as an accompaniment to spectacles in the amphitheatre. It was invented by a Greek, Ctesibius, in the third century B.C. It was played by means of a keyboard and was powered by a column of water supported on a cushion of air, which was admitted by means of two pumps, one on each side. The air passed through a valve into a horizontal container connected with a series of vertical organ pipes, also operated by valves. Illustrations of the water-organ are found in mosaics, gems, coins, and terracottas.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For some previous acquisitions, see *B.M.Q.* xxvi (1962-3), 101.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. no. 1966 3-28 21. Ht. 17 cm. Clay, pale orange, rather coarse.

<sup>3</sup> P. N. Ure, *Aryballo and Figurines from Rhitsona in Boeotia* (Cambridge, 1934), 57 and pl. xiv, no. 49. 431.

<sup>4</sup> Reg. no. 1966 3-28 19. Ht. 26.5 cm. Clay, yellow ochre, rather coarse.

<sup>5</sup> R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, pl. 30d.

<sup>6</sup> Reg. no. 1966 3-28 20. Ht. 24 cm. Clay, yellow ochre.

<sup>7</sup> See R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, 72.

<sup>8</sup> Reg. no. 1966 3-28 22. Ht. 9.5 cm. Clay, yellow ochre, lightly fired.

<sup>9</sup> See R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, 77; *J.H.S.* lxxii (1962), 133.

<sup>10</sup> Reg. no. 1966 7-26 1. Ht. 13.5 cm. Clay, brown with mica.

<sup>11</sup> *B.M.C. Terracottas*, i, nos. 155-7.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 1216-17, 1221-2.

<sup>13</sup> Bought at Christie's, 25 Oct. 1966, lot 28. Reg. no. 1966 12-10 1. Ht. 18.5 cm. Clay, orange, with waxy surface.

<sup>14</sup> The previous owner was kind enough to give me this information, which amplifies and corrects that in the Sale Catalogue.

<sup>15</sup> e.g. nos. C 273 and 1926 11-15 6 in the Greek and Roman Department. When I first published this piece in my *Greek Terracottas*, 131, col. pl. v, I thought it was Alexandrian; but when two authorities, Mrs. D. B. Thompson and Mr. Loukas Benachi, both expressed grave doubts on this point, I cast about for another possible origin and found a very likely one.

<sup>16</sup> Reg. no. 1966 7-25 1. Ht. 16 cm. Clay, pale brown.

<sup>17</sup> A. Levi, *Le terrecotte figurate del Mus. Naz. di Napoli* (Florence, 1926), 200, no. 162. F. Winter, *Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, iii (Berlin, Stuttgart, 1903), pt. ii, 439: 1.

<sup>18</sup> Levi, op. cit. 116, fig. 95.

<sup>19</sup> Reg. no. 1965 10-11 1. Ht. 18 cm. Clay, cream.

<sup>20</sup> *Musée Lavigerie*, ii (Paris, 1898), pl. xiii: 1, 2.

<sup>21</sup> G. Fleischauer, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern: Etrurien und Rom* (Leipzig, 1964), 126 ff.

## A ROMAN BRONZE HELMET FROM HAWKEDON, SUFFOLK

IN April 1965 a Roman helmet was ploughed up on land belonging to Mr. H. H. Cawston of Hawkdon, Suffolk, about ten miles north-west of Lavenham at grid reference TL 793545 (Figs. 1 and 2). The helmet was examined at the Armouries of H.M. Tower of London and at the British Museum. Through the good offices of Mr. A. R. Edwardson, Curator of the Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds, it was placed on temporary display during October and November 1965 in the Exhibition of Prehistoric and

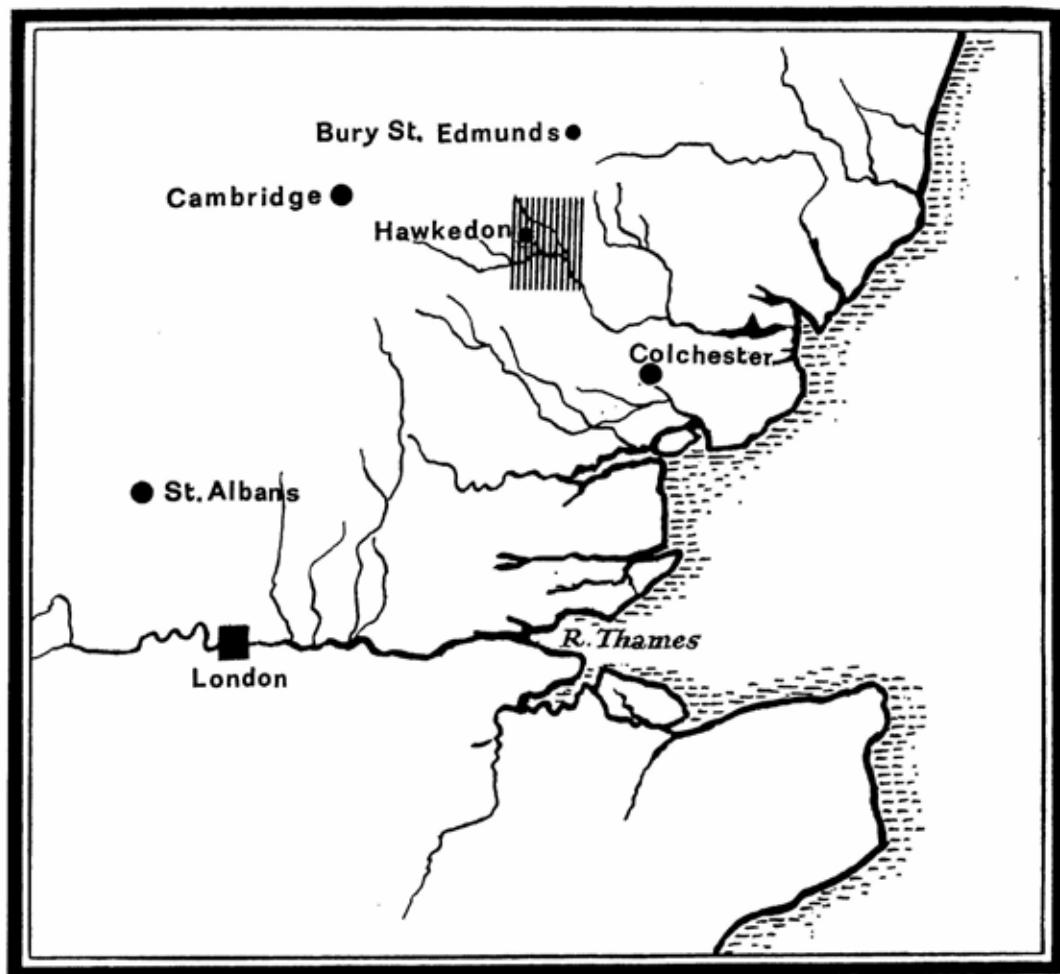


FIG. 1. The location of Hawkdon. For the shaded area see Fig. 2.

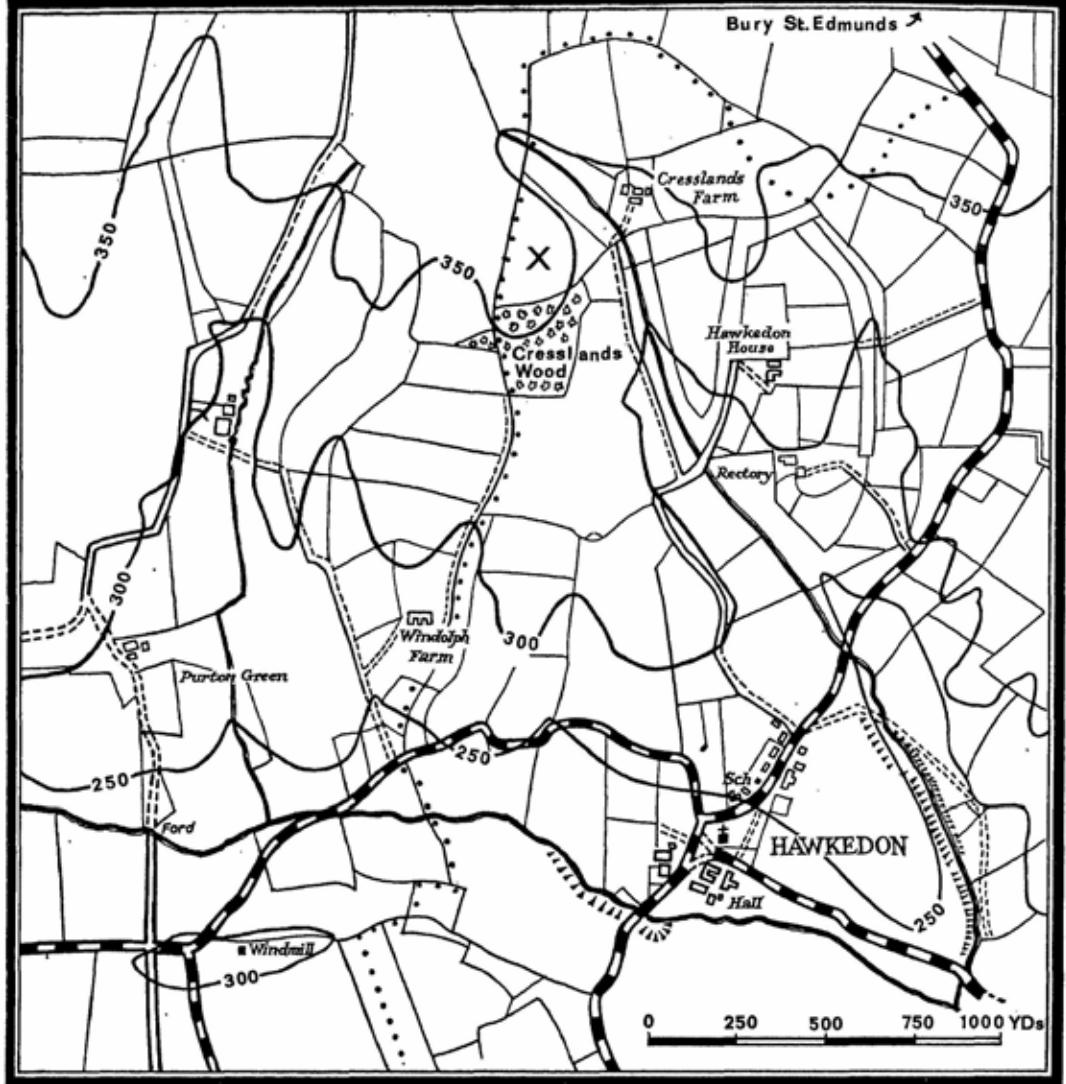


FIG. 2. The find-place of the helmet.

Romano-British Antiquities at the British Museum. Subsequently it was purchased by the British Museum at a sale at Messrs. Sotheby's on 13 June 1966, and is now part of the collections of the Sub-Department of Prehistory and Roman Britain (registration no. 1966, 6-5, 1).<sup>1</sup>

The helmet (Pls. LVII-LX and Figs. 3-5) is of bronze and has a very wide neck-guard which still retains part of its bronze binding hammered on to the serrated edge.<sup>2</sup> The width of the helmet including the neck-guard is 44 cm. (17.5 in.).

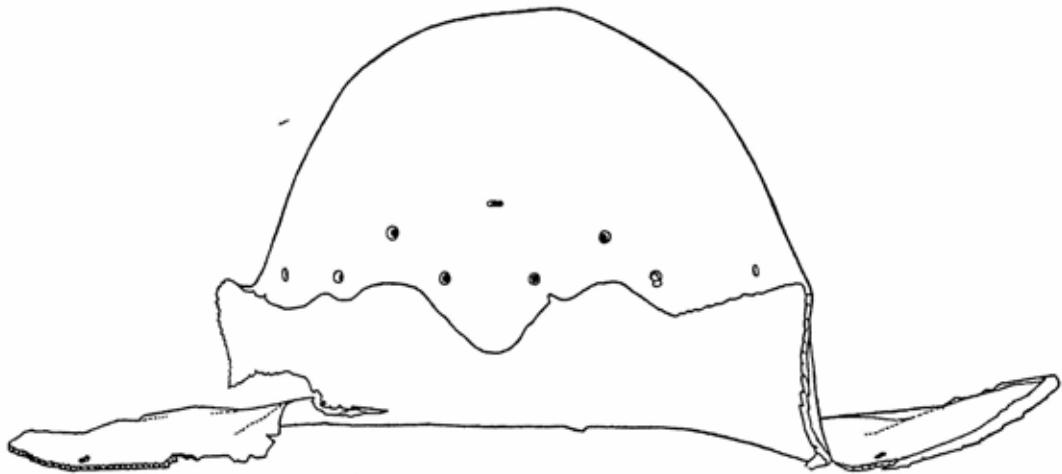


FIG. 3. The Hawkedon helmet. Front.

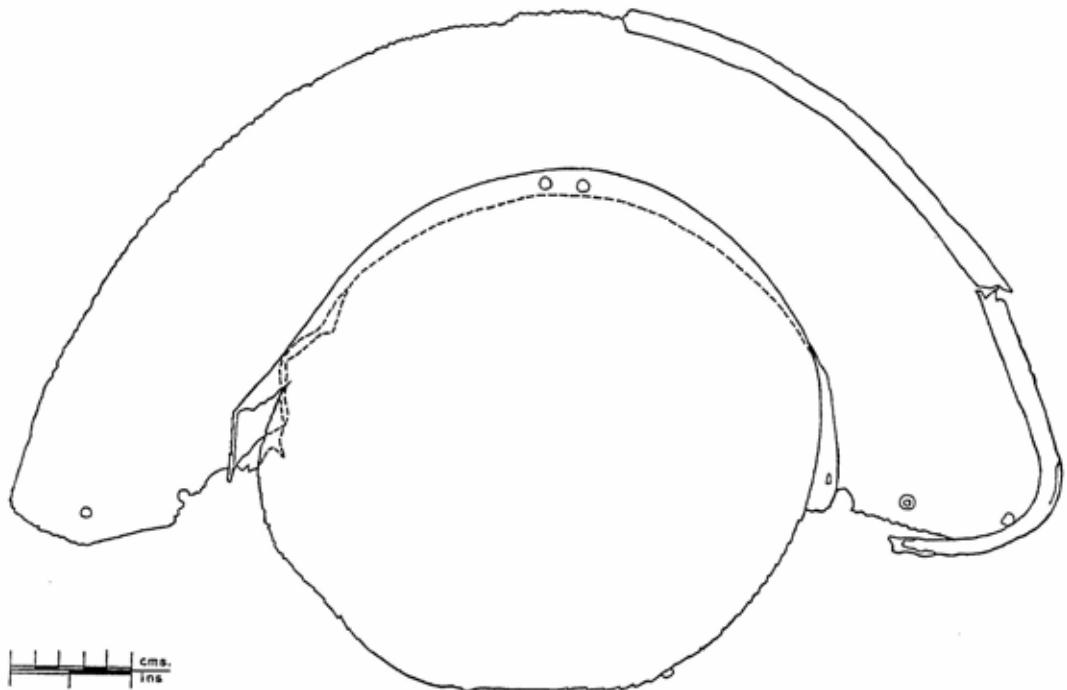


FIG. 4. The Hawkedon helmet. From above.

The height of the cap is 19.5 cm. (7.8 in.), and its diameter is 25.5 cm. (10 in.). The weight of the helmet is 2,280 gm. A few traces of tinning remain on the bronze, and in antiquity the polished helmet would have been bright silver in appearance. The front edge of the helmet has a double curve repeating the line

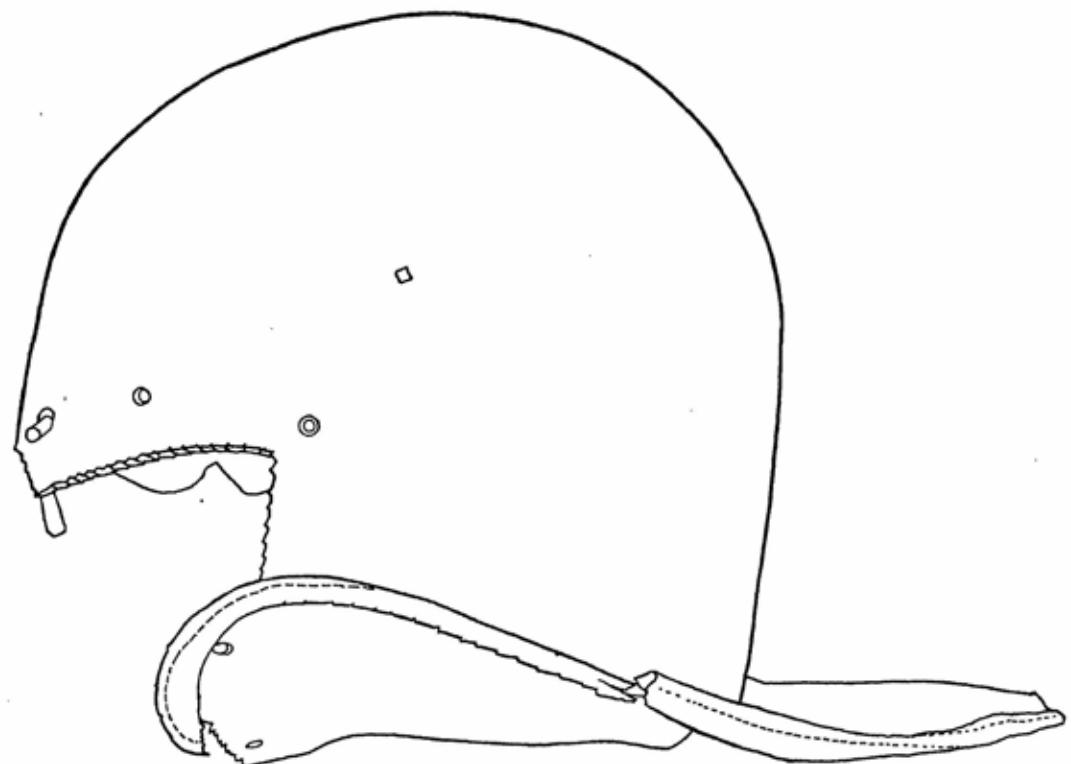


FIG. 5. The Hawkeden helmet. Side.

of the eyebrows of the wearer. At the centre of the neck-guard, between two perforations and the edge, there is a stamped panel reading ... OS (retrograde) (Pl. lx<sup>b</sup>).

The weight of the helmet—more than twice the weight of the heaviest of three first-century legionary helmets in the British Museum<sup>3</sup>—and the width of the neck-guard suggest that it was not a mere parade-piece. The same features would have made it cumbersome in battle. The helmet may well, therefore, have been gladiatorial, similar to that in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities (Pl. LXI), and those from Pompeii shown in Plates LXII, LXIII, and LXIV.<sup>4</sup> The extra weight would clearly have given extra protection; but whether the extra protection was wanted in the arena itself or only during practice is not so certain. The particularly heavy swords found at Pompeii, for example, are thought to have been for practice, and it may be assumed that lighter swords were used in actual combat.<sup>5</sup> The original appearance of the Hawkeden helmet can only be conjectured; but the reconstruction in Fig. 6 is based on the Pompeian helmets in Plates LXIII and LXIV which have similar shapes, similar bindings round the rim, and similar numbers of rivet-holes. The similarities may indeed be no accident,

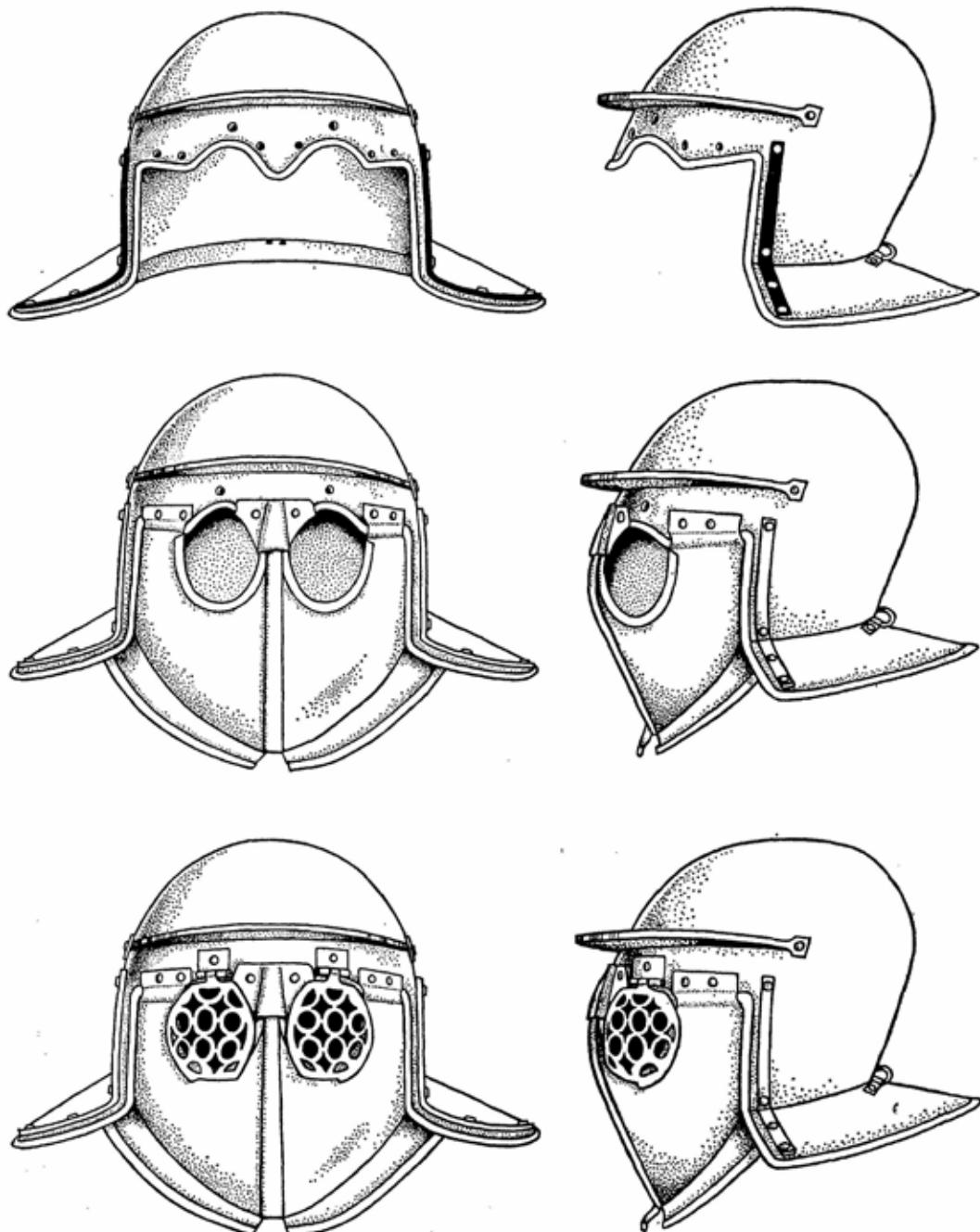


FIG. 6. The Hawkeden helmet. Conjectural restoration based on the existing rivet-holes and two helmets from Pompeii (see Plates LXIII and LXIV).

for the Gallic and German bronze industries were not yet in production, and it is likely that the Hawkedon helmet, like the Pompeian examples, was made in Campania in Italy.<sup>6</sup>

The practice of gladiatorial combats came to the Romans from Etruria, where originally they were part of the ceremonies at important funerals. The first recorded instance of their appearance in Rome was at the funeral games given by his sons in honour of M. Brutus in 264 B.C. On that occasion only three pairs of gladiators were engaged; but in 174 B.C. at the funeral games of T. Flamininus thirty-seven pairs fought, and finally at private displays, such as these funerals, a hundred pairs became common. At the games given by Julius Caesar as aedile in 65 B.C. 320 pairs fought. Under the Empire the numbers steadily mounted and Trajan exhibited 5,000 pairs in his triumph over Decebalus.

Gladiators were usually prisoners of war, slaves bought for the purpose, or condemned criminals. They were trained in a school (*ludus*) under very harsh discipline by a professional (*lanista*) who either owned the establishment himself or was employed by the state or private persons. Under the Empire the slaves were often joined by free men who, being reduced to poverty, hired themselves to a *lanista* at a wage, and were bound by an oath (*auctoramentum gladiatorium*) to serve for a fixed period. A small number of women are known to have adopted the gladiatorial career, and a relief from Halicarnassus (now Budrum in Turkey) shows two women gladiators fighting. Even a few men and women of rank entered the arena and fought, either of their own accord or at the emperor's bidding.<sup>7</sup>

The most substantial evidence for gladiatorial combats in Britain consists of the amphitheatres which survive at Cirencester, Silchester, Dorchester (Dorset), Chichester, Richborough, and Caerwent (Fig. 7). As the amphitheatres were cheaply constructed of ramps of earth rather than in the masonry style of the continent, they are easily destroyed, and more must have existed, for instance at the four *coloniae* and at London. A few smaller examples are known from country areas, as at Charterhouse on Mendip and at Woodcutts in Dorset; but it is not certain whether these served the same purpose. Others again are known at the fortresses of Chester and Caerleon and also at least one auxiliary fort (*Tomen-y-Mur*); here their main purpose was undoubtedly arms-training, though they may have served for entertainment on occasion.<sup>8</sup> There is some epigraphic evidence that gladiators were recruited in the province, for about A.D. 205 L. Didius Marinus held the office of procurator in charge of the gladiators recruited and trained in Gaul, Britain, Spain, Germany, and Raetia. A graffito on a sherd of Samian from Leicester—*Verecunda the dancer: Lucius the gladiator*—is another indication that they may have been seen in Britain.<sup>9</sup> Familiarity with the arena, too, is suggested by statuettes of gladiators from South Shields and London, by mould-blown figured glass cups, by colour-coated vases from



FIG. 7. Amphitheatres in Britain. Known sites are shown by solid circles. Conjectured sites are shown by open circles.

Colchester and the Nene Valley, and by the famous mosaic of cupids dressing and acting as gladiators at the Bignor villa.<sup>10</sup>

The evidence for gladiatorial shows, however, is so sparse that it might previously have been argued that acrobats and wild-beast shows were almost the only entertainments offered in the arenas of Britain; but now the helmet from Hawkodon is positive evidence that gladiators probably did fight in the province. Where, then, are such combats likely to have taken place? The expense of games

of any sort was very great, and, although private individuals occasionally financed such shows, it was normally only the provincial assemblies or the municipalities that were able to indulge in the plays and games which were given every year in all the principal towns of the empire and at the yearly meetings of the provincial councils. The cost came second only to the outlay for public works and, except in so far as it was met by the contributions required of magistrates and by private gift, was defrayed by the municipality. At Urso in Spain in the first century B.C. each duovir and aedile was called on to contribute at least 2,000 sesterces, and the city added from the public treasury 2,000 for each duovir and 1,000 for each aedile.<sup>11</sup> Pliny's letters to Trajan refer frequently to the large sums which were being spent by the cities in his province on theatres, amphitheatres, and baths.<sup>12</sup> The gifts and bequests made by private citizens added materially to the sums spent each year.<sup>13</sup> The central government was aware of the large financial burden which these festivals laid on the municipalities, and Dio Cassius (52.30) makes Maccenas advise Augustus to forbid them outside Rome; but the earliest known formal action looking to economy in such matters seems to be the *senatus consultum de sumptibus ludorum gladiatorium minendis* of about A.D. 176 or 177.<sup>14</sup> The bill limited the amount of money which could be spent on gladiatorial contests. The provisions of the bill show that, to make the new arrangement easier for those who gave the games, the emperors had already provided for the remission of the tax paid to the *fiscus* of one-third or one-fourth of the gains made by the *lanistae*. The sum of two million or three million sesterces, which it was estimated the treasury would lose annually in consequence of the remission of this tax, gives some conception of the large amounts spent on these games.

For these reasons it is likely that the helmet from Hawkedon was used at one of the leading towns of the province of Britain, at games given in connection with some religious festival or in commemoration of some important public event by a wealthy individual or by a priest or magistrate, part of the cost in the latter case being borne by the municipality. The expenses involved were for the hiring of gladiators from the *lanistae*, whether from the state teams such as were later controlled by the *procuratores familiarum gladiatorum* or from privately run enterprises. The nearest town where the Hawkedon helmet could have been put to such use is Colchester, the leading town of the province in the first century A.D., a *colonia* at which there is likely to have been an amphitheatre, and finally the centre of the imperial cult in Britain and therefore the meeting place of the annual provincial assembly.<sup>15</sup>

Although the helmet was probably used at Colchester, it was found at Hawkedon, and its presence there must be explained. A settlement probably existed in the neighbourhood, for a Roman burial was found there in a globular amphora containing two fragments of pipeclay statuettes of Venus.<sup>16</sup> The amphora and

a fragment of one of these statuettes are in the museum at Bury St. Edmunds, and it would not be surprising if more evidence for such a settlement were now to come to light; but whatever its size the settlement is not likely to have been one of the leading towns of the province, provided with an amphitheatre, and a reason must therefore be sought for the taking of the helmet from Colchester to Hawkedon. The date of deposition is presumably within the first century A.D., to which the helmet's type suggests it belongs. A possible explanation may be found in part of Tacitus' description of the revolt of the Treviri and Aedui of Gaul under Florus and Sacrovir in A.D. 21 (*Annals* iii. 43 ff.):

A more formidable movement broke out among the Aedui . . . Sacrovir with some armed cohorts had made himself master of Augustodunum, the capital of the tribe . . . He . . . distributed . . . arms which he had secretly manufactured. There were forty thousand (men), one fifth armed like our legionaries; the rest had spears and knives and other weapons used in the chase. In addition were some slaves being trained for gladiators, clad after the national fashion in a complete covering of iron. They were called *cruellarii*, and though they were ill-adapted for inflicting wounds, they were impenetrable to them . . . (When the Roman army and Sacrovir's forces met, the Roman) cavalry threw itself on the flanks, and the infantry charged the van. On the wings there was but a brief resistance. The men in mail were somewhat of an obstacle, as the iron plates did not yield to javelins or swords; but our men, snatching up hatchets and pickaxes, hacked at their bodies and their armour as if they were battering a wall. Some beat down the unwieldy mass with pikes and forked poles, and they were left lying on the ground, without the power to rise, like dead men. Sacrovir (fled) with his most trustworthy followers.

The parallel in Britain to this situation is the revolt of Boudicca some forty years later. One can imagine how useful gladiatorial equipment from the sacked city of Colchester, perhaps with freed gladiators, might seem to the poorly armed rebels,<sup>17</sup> and how ineffectual in combat against trained Roman troops such heavy armour may have proved to be, as Sacrovir's gladiators found at Augustodunum. Some of the damage, then, to the newly discovered helmet may have been caused in A.D. 61 by a Roman hatchet or pickaxe striking, as Tacitus describes, 'at the bodies and the armour as if they were battering a wall'.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The helmet has been published briefly in 'Roman Britain in 1965' in *Journal of Roman Studies*, lvi (1966), 209 and 221 and pl. x, 4 and 5; in *Antiquaries Journal*, xlvi (1967), pp. 286–7, pl. lxii; and in *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* (1968).

<sup>2</sup> The binding on the leading edge of the left-hand side of the neck-guard, shown in the photographs and drawings, was lost between its temporary exhibition in the British Museum and its return to the Museum after the sale.

<sup>3</sup> (a) Helmet from London, 2,280 gm. (reg.

no. 1950, 7–6, 1; J. W. Brailsford, *Antiquities of Roman Britain*, British Museum, 1966, p. 67, no. 5); (b) helmet found between Tring and Berkhamsted, 945 gm. (reg. no. 13, 3–13, 1; R. A. Smith, *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*, British Museum, 1922, p. 77); (c) helmet from Witcham Gravel, Ely, 758 gm. (reg. no. 91, 11–17, 1; J. W. Brailsford, *Antiquities of Roman Britain*, 1966, p. 67, no. 6).

<sup>4</sup> The registration number of the helmet in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities is 1946, 5–14, 1. For gladiatorial equipment from

Pompeii in general see J. Overbeck, *Pompeji* (1884), pp. 454-9.

<sup>5</sup> M. Grant, *Gladiators* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1967), p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> For the bronze industry in Campania see M. W. Frederiksen, 'Republican Capua: A Social and Economic Study', in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xxvii (1959), pp. 80-130, especially pp. 109 ff.; and A. Radnóti, *Die römischen Bronzegefäße von Pannonien* (Diss. Pann., 1938).

<sup>7</sup> For an excellent recent account of gladiators see Grant, op. cit. (note 5, above); and for gladiatorial equipment see G. Ville, 'Essai de Datation de la Mosaique des Gladiateurs de Zliten', in H. Stern (ed.), *La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine* (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1965), pp. 147-55. As far as helmets are concerned M. Ville suggests that the development is from cheek-pieces in Augustan times, to eye-pieces, to a complete face-grille in the second and third centuries. This is, of course, a simplification of his thesis.

<sup>8</sup> S. S. Frere, *Britannia* (London, 1967), p. 308; Joan Liversidge, *Britain in the Roman Empire* (London, 1968), pp. 371-8. Tomen-y-Mur: V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Roman Frontier in Wales* (1954), p. 37. For traces of what may be an amphitheatre at Colchester see references in note 15, below.

<sup>9</sup> For Marinus' post see *C.I.L.* iii. 6753. For his whole known career, H.-G. Pfau, *Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Équestres Sous le Haut-Empire*, ii (Paris, 1960), no. 295, pp. 765-9. For the Leicester fragment *C.I.L.* vii, no. 1335, 4.

<sup>10</sup> South Shields statuette: J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (London, 1962), no. 53 (Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle).

London statuettes: J. W. Brailsford, *Antiquities of Roman Britain* (1964), p. 54, no. 4, pl. 15 (British Museum, no. 88, 7-19, 97); J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans* (Oxford, 1964), p. 118, pl. xxxi b (London Museum).

Glass cups: L. Berger, *Römische Gläser aus Vindonissa* (Basel, 1960), pp. 66-7, nos. 29 (Leicester), 30, 31, 32 (Colchester), 43 (Kent), 44-5 (Topsham, Devon).

Colchester cup: D. B. Harden, K. S. Painter, R. H. Pinder-Wilson, *Masterpieces of Glass* (British Museum, 1968), p. 53, no. 61.

Nene Valley cup: J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, pl. 193 (Peterborough Museum).

Bignor mosaic: J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, pls. 225-6.

<sup>11</sup> *C.I.L.* ii. 5439, *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae seu Ursonensis*, cc. 70-1 (also in F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1926), pp. 300-17, no. 26). Contributions required of magistrates, etc.: for the outlay by a *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* at Lyon, see H. G. Pfau, *Le Marbre de Thorigny* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études), cccxii (1948).

<sup>12</sup> *Epp.* 23, 39.

<sup>13</sup> F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton, 1926), p. 434.

<sup>14</sup> Abbott and Johnson, op. cit., no. 110, pp. 430-5—*C.I.L.* ii. 6278. J. H. Oliver and R. E. A. Palmer, 'Minutes of an Act of the Roman Senate' in *Hesperia*, xxiv (1955), pp. 320 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Colchester: I. A. Richmond, 'Roman Essex' in W. R. Powell (ed.), *A History of the County of Essex*, vol. iii, *Roman Essex* (Victoria History of the Counties of England, London, 1963), pp. 1-13. For traces of what may be an amphitheatre, Richmond, op. cit., p. 10 and M. R. Hull, *Roman Colchester* (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, xx, 1958), pp. 105-6.

<sup>16</sup> G. E. Fox, s.v. 'Hawkodon' in 'Romano-British Suffolk', p. 307, in W. Page (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Suffolk*, i (1911).

<sup>17</sup> Ostorius Scapula disarmed the Britons in A.D. 50, though this was in vain resisted, particularly by the Iceni; Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 31: 'detrahere arma suspectis . . . parat. quod primi Iceni abnuere . . .'. This explains Suetonius' remarks to his troops when they met the Britons in the final battle of the Boudiccan revolt, that the enemy was without arms; Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 36: 'inbellis inermes cessuros statim . . .'

<sup>18</sup> I must acknowledge the generous and continuing help of many colleagues, including particularly J. W. Brailsford, P. Compton, A. R. Edwardson, S. S. Frere, K. Klumbach, I. H. Longworth, W. H. Manning, Miss M. O. Miller, W. Reid, H. R. Robinson, D. E. Strong, R. P. Wright. The drawings are by P. Compton, and the paper could not have been completed without the typing and tolerance of Mrs. I. Cotton.

## THE LULLINGSTONE WALL-PLASTER: AN ASPECT OF CHRISTIANITY IN ROMAN BRITAIN

ONE of the most important archaeological discoveries in Britain since the end of the Second World War is the Roman villa at Lullingstone in Kent, less than twenty miles east of London (Fig. 1). With its remarkable pavements (Pls. LXVIII-LXX), sculptures (Pls. LXXI-LXXXIII), mausoleum, and Christian wall-paintings (Pls. LXV-LXVII) it is in a class by itself, and it has completely changed our ideas about the life led by the wealthy classes in Britain, particularly in the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> The fine marble busts have been on loan to the British Museum from the Kent County Council since 1950,<sup>2</sup> and in 1967 the Council repeated their generosity by giving to the Museum all the wall-plaster from the villa.<sup>3</sup>

At Lullingstone in 1949, in the basement room in which the portrait busts have been deposited, thousands of fragments of this painted plaster were found (Figs. 2, 3). The fragments had fallen into the basement room from the walls of the room above it, when the floor and walls of that room collapsed in the fire which destroyed the villa in the late fourth or early fifth century (Fig. 4). Some of the pieces could be joined and were seen to carry representations of birds and human beings. The gigantic jigsaw puzzle was solved by the late C. D. P. Nicholson, F.S.A., and it is so that his successful work may be continued and in time completed that the plaster has now been given a permanent home in the British Museum.

From the first discovery of the villa it was clear that the house was a place of substance, for in the summer of 1949 the first works of art that came to light were the mosaic floors of the apsed dining room, dated by the excavator to his period IV, about A.D. 330.<sup>4</sup> The upper and larger portion of the background of the semicircular mosaic picture is white and represents the sky; the lower and smaller segment is of dark blue *tesserae* to indicate the sea. A bull bounds across the sea towards the right, and on his back sits Europa. On the left a winged Cupid playfully twists the creature's tail, while a second winged Cupid on the right strides ahead, looking back towards the pair as he makes a gesture of encouragement. All the figures are drawn in red outline and are two-dimensional except for some modelling and shading in the hair and faces by means of yellow and purple *tesserae*. Above the Europa scene, and facing in the same direction, is an elegiac couplet written along the chord of the apse in two lines:<sup>5</sup>

invida si ta[uri] vidisset Iuno natatus,  
iustius Aeolias isset adusque domos.

In the white ground of the centre of the lower, rectangular floor are depicted in black outline a white, winged Pegasus and Bellerophon upon his back. The

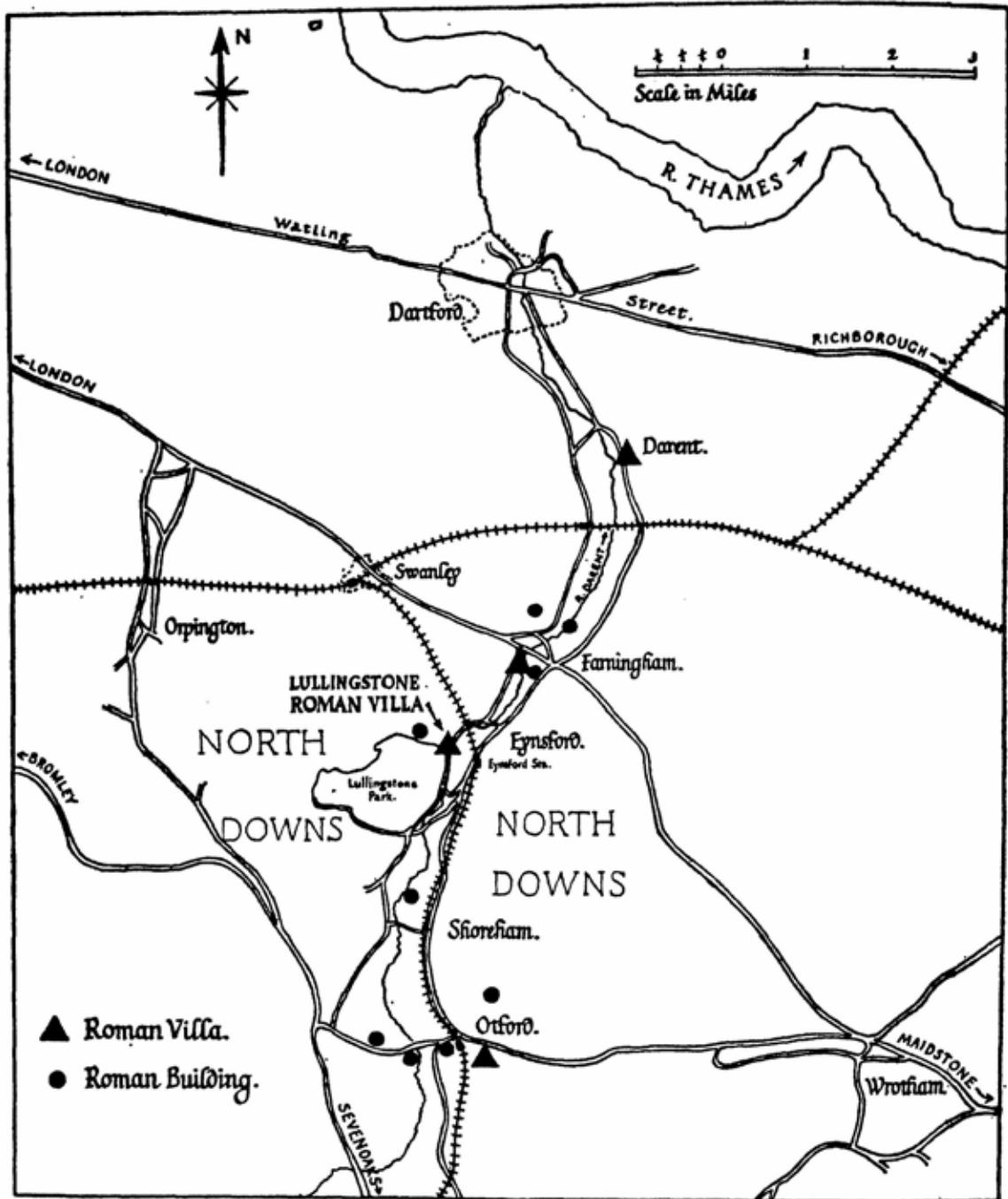


FIG. 1. The situation of Lullingstone Roman villa.

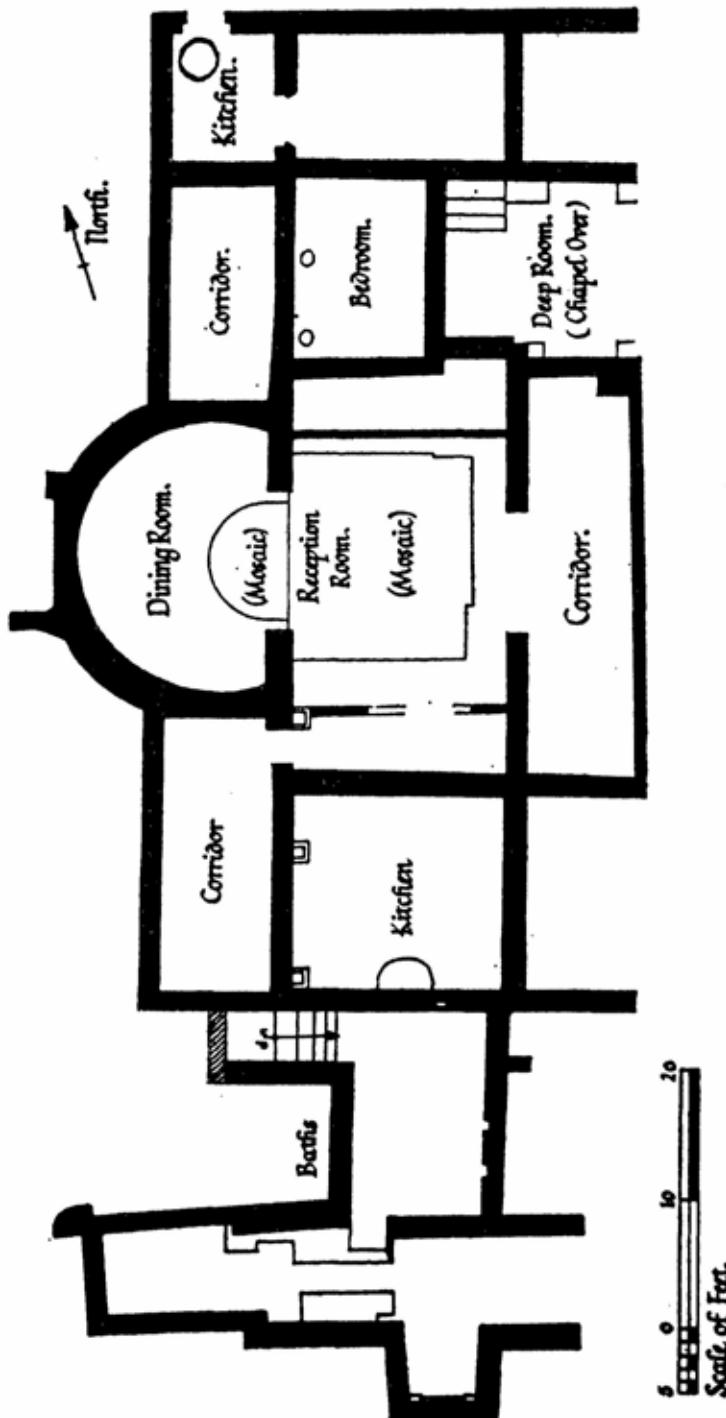


FIG. 2. Plan of the villa, c. A.D. 330-380.

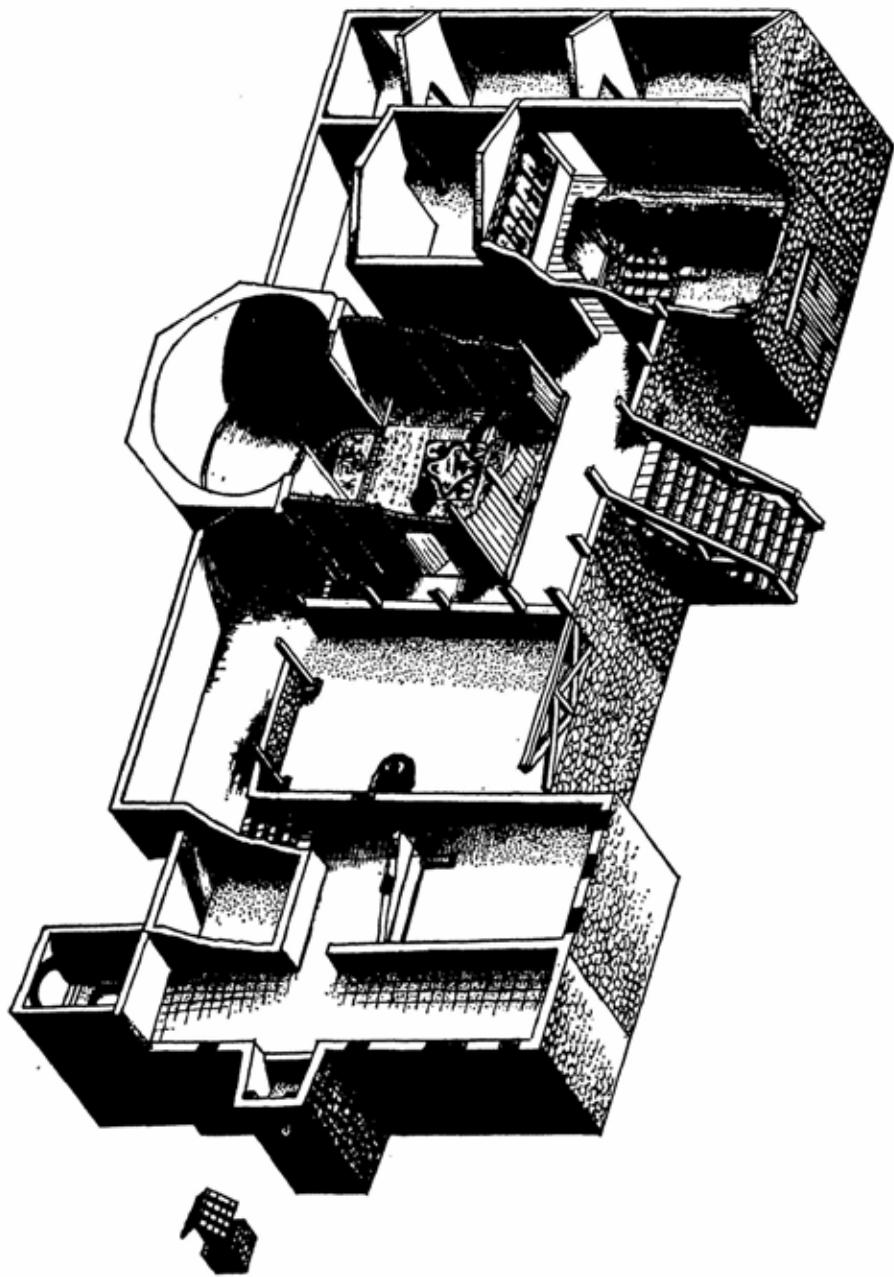


FIG. 3. The villa, c. A.D. 330-380.

<i>Date A.D.</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Probable type of occupant</i>
c. 100	Building of the first period house. Function of the Deep Room unknown.	A romanized Briton engaged in farming.
c. 180	Expansion of the house by addition of the Bath Wing. Reorganization of the Deep Room to provide a garden approach-room or loggia with fourfold flights of tiled steps leading up to the living level.	A Roman official of consequence. No evidence of farming.
c. 200	Abandonment of the house.	
c. 290	Reoccupation by a different family. The Bath Wing rebuilt. The fourfold steps covered by a heated apartment. The busts deposited with votive pots in the Deep Room. Building of the Barn.	Unknown. Farming on a large scale.
c. 300-350	Construction of the apse and the mosaic floors. Two more votive pots placed before the busts in the Deep Room.	A well-to-do, fully romanized Briton who possibly used the house intermittently. Intensive farming.
c. 350	Foundation of the Christian chapel with its antechamber and vestibule. The Barn becoming dilapidated and temporarily buttressed.	—do.— Farming less intense.
c. 380	The Bath Wing filled in. The Barn used as a cart-standing and stable, and then pulled down. The Christian rooms still in use.	—do.— Farming ceases.
c. 400	Final destruction by fire.	

FIG. 4. Summary of the history of the villa.

hero wears a red cloak and red boots and is thrusting with his spear, composed of alternating red and white *tesserae*, at the Chimaera, which runs below the belly of the horse and in the same direction. In each corner is a sea-beast, and within the field are two mussel-shells. In each of the corners of the square is the bust of a Season in a roundel. Winter wears a hooded cloak; Spring has a bird; while Summer, crowned with somewhat lean corn-ears, seems to have usurped the place next to Winter usually occupied by Autumn, who, here once next to Spring and presumably wreathed with grapes and vine leaves, vanished in a fire.

Even though the construction of the pavement had been comparatively recent,

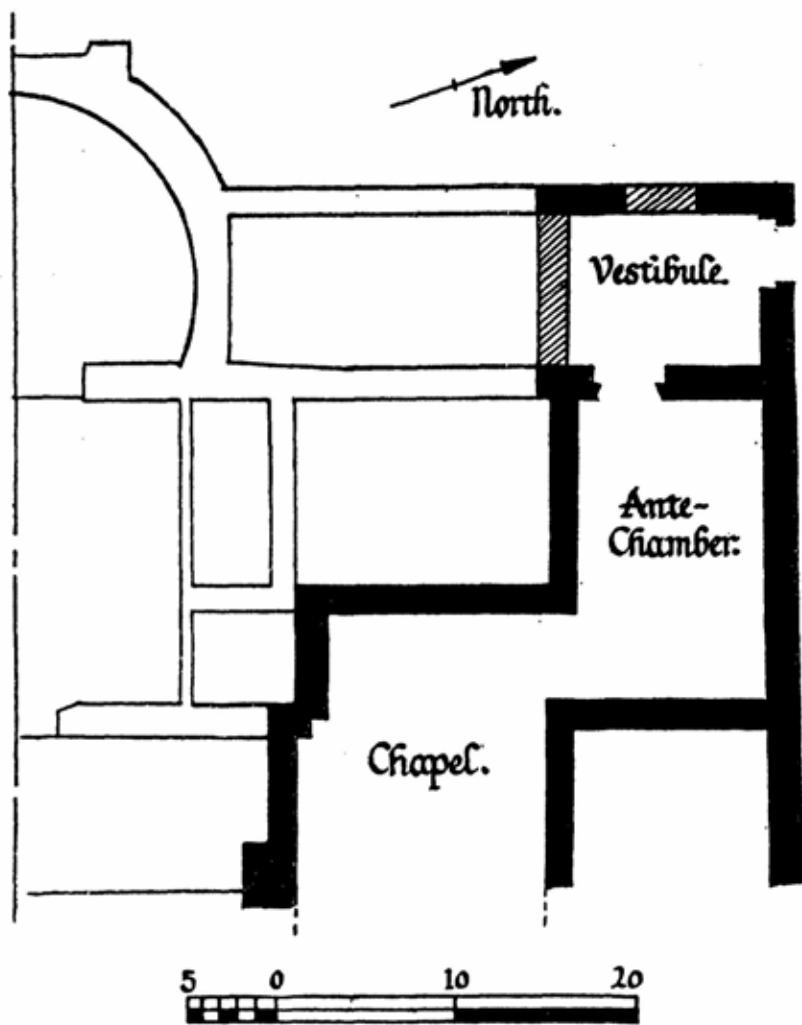


FIG. 5. Plan of the Christian rooms, c. A.D. 350-400.

the dining-room was cut off about the middle of the fourth century from the adjacent rooms to the north when by substantial alterations at that end of the villa three or four rooms were set apart for Christian use (Fig. 5). These rooms had first been constructed in the late third century, when the house was re-occupied after about eighty years of abandonment. It was to the walls of the upper room, above the basement room, that most of the painted plaster belonged. To the north-west of the upper room a slightly smaller oblong room was built above part of a filled-in quadruple staircase, dating from the late second century,

one flight of which had led down into the basement room. Immediately to the west of the smaller oblong room was a quite small square room, and about the middle of the fourth century a new doorway was opened up between the two. The door giving access from the square room to the passage-way leading south to the main part of the house and immediately to the apsed *triclinium* was blocked up, as was also the door leading to the west, while a new door was opened from the square room to the north. Through that northern door this set of interconnecting rooms could be directly entered from the outside world, the rest of the house having been effectively sealed off from them. The clue to the function of the rooms was given by the paintings on the plaster, and the paintings will now be described. The research done on them so far has all been carried out by Professor J. M. C. Toynbee, and the following paragraphs necessarily follow her account very closely indeed because the Museum's work on the plaster is only just beginning.

The whole scheme of the design on the west wall of the main room has been recovered (Figs. 6, 7). It consists of a colonnade of seven columns about 32 in. high—a blue, fluted half-column at either end; next, on either side, a red column with a scale-pattern on its shaft; next, again, on either side, a blue, fluted column; and in the centre a red column, the shaft of which is ornamented with rosettes. Each of the six intercolumniations contained a human figure (Fig. 8). Sufficient fragments have been pieced together for the arrangement of the various types of columns and the positions of the five surviving figures, or portions of human figures, to be quite certain. These figures will now be described in order, passing from left to right:

Of Figure 1 only the hands survive (Pl. LXVA). These are outspread, palm outwards, with the fingers extended, and touch, in the case of the right hand, the fluted shaft of the blue half-column on the left, in the case of the left hand, the red scale-column on the right. Since these hands are somewhat smaller than those of the other remaining figures, their owner may have been a child, standing full-face.

Figure 2 is that of a young man standing full-face and robed elaborately in a tunic, with long, tight-fitting sleeves, and in a dalmatic-like over-garment, with edgings of pearls (Pl. LXVB). The youthful face is fully preserved and crowned by a mop of red hair. Both arms are extended laterally and are bent at the elbows; but the fingers, instead of being extended, are bent inwards towards the palm. Behind the back of Figure 2 hangs a curtain run on a cord or light rod.<sup>6</sup>

Of Figure 3 (Pl. LXVC) only the head, hands, part of the arms, and part of the left side of the upper garment are preserved. This, too, is male, full-face, and beardless, and has dark eyes and red hair. His hands are extended, palm outwards, with the fingers outstretched, across the flanking column shafts, and his tunic has long, tight-fitting sleeves with wrist-bands of dark colours.

Nothing at all survives of Figure 4, although there can be little doubt that the

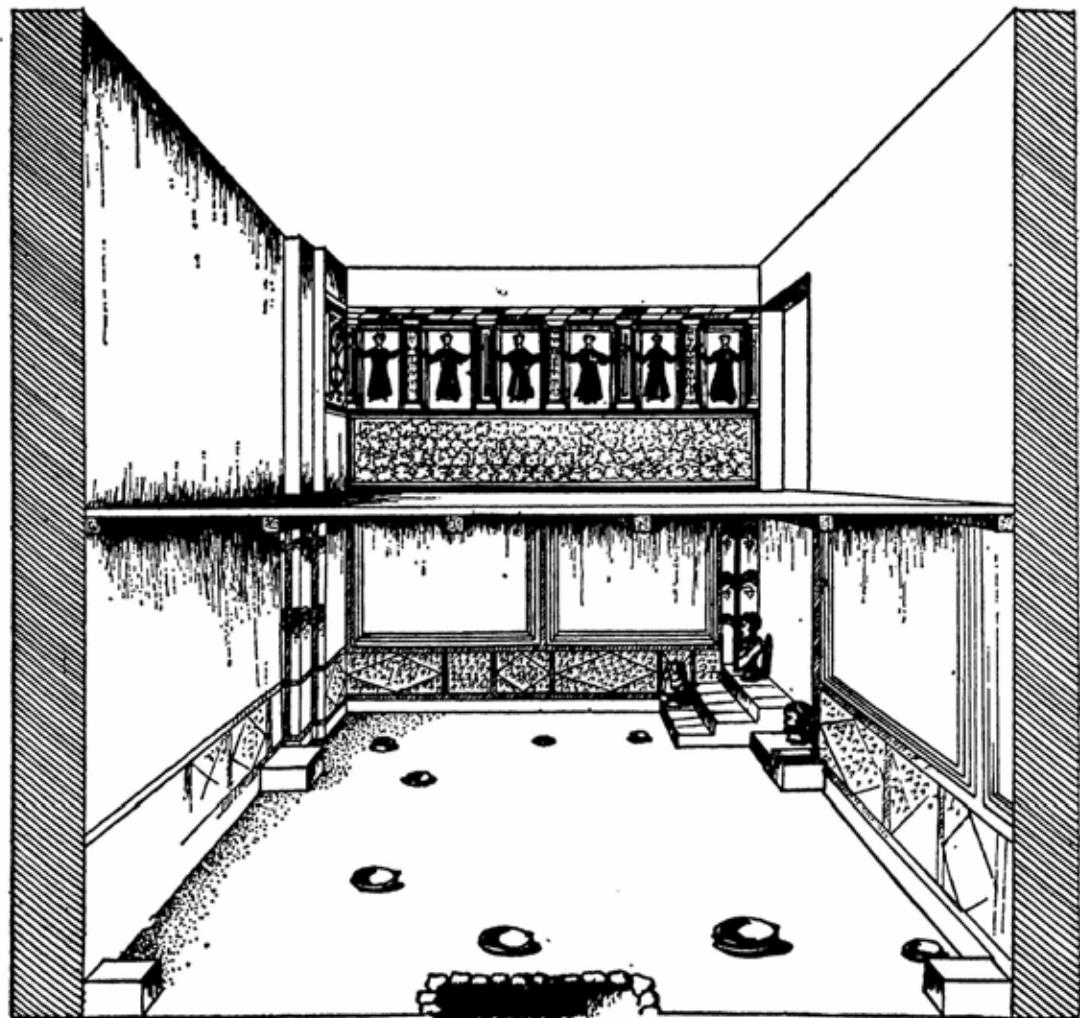


FIG. 6. The Deep Room, with the Christian Chapel above, shortly before the final fire.

fourth space was, like the rest, filled by a human figure. Of Figure 5 (*Pl. LXVI*), again full-face, we have most of the neck, part of the left shoulder, most of the chest, and the whole of the right shoulder, arm, and hand. The face is lost, but the dark brown hair, growing low on the left side of the neck, suggests that we have here the portrait of a woman. Her slender, extended fingers pass across the shaft of the fluted column on her right. She wears a long-sleeved tunic, with pearl-decked, dark-coloured wrist-bands, and an upper garment edged with larger pearls.

Figure 6 (*Pl. LXVII*) is very fragmentary; but two pieces carrying pearl-edged drapery show that a human figure really did occupy this space—a figure that

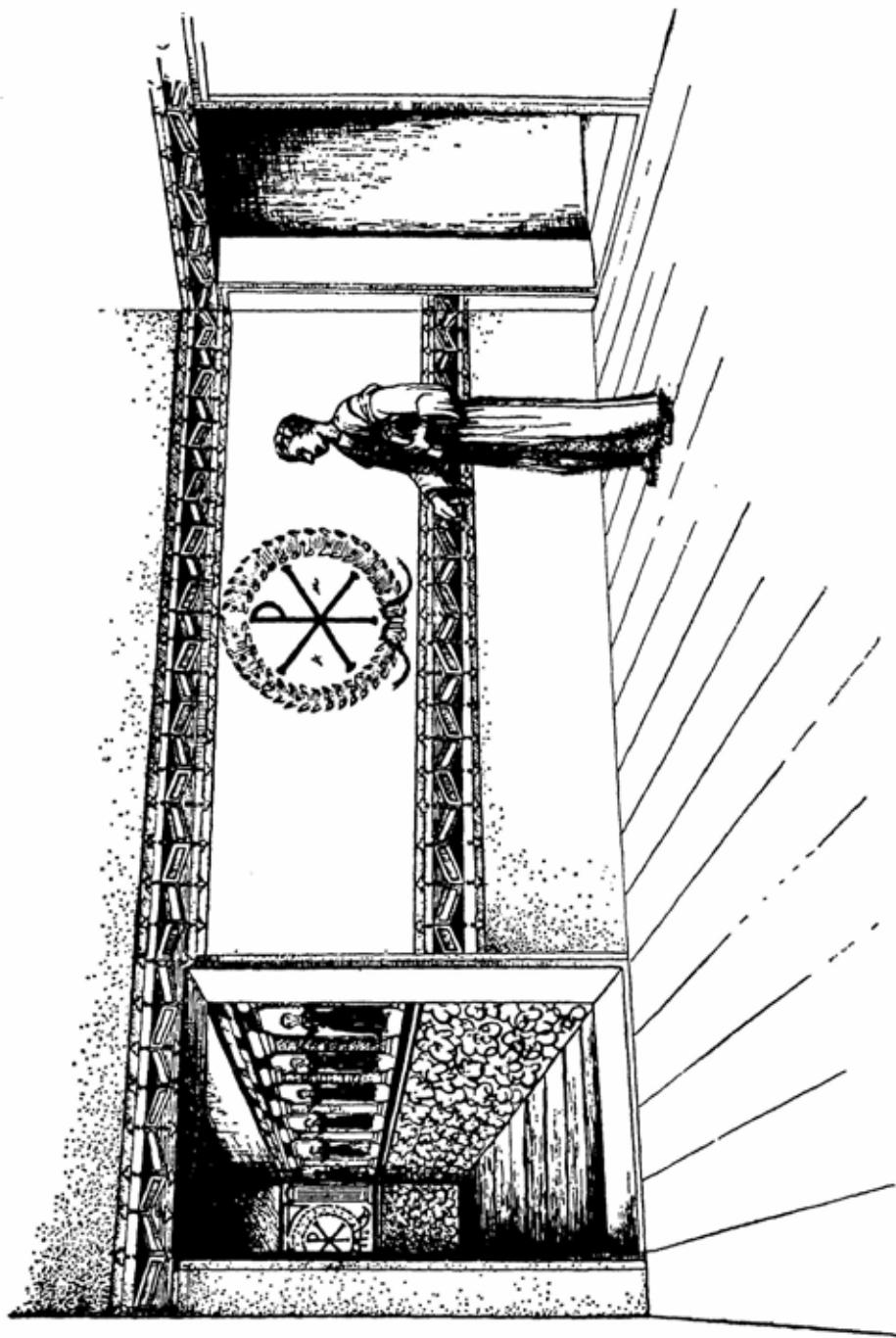


FIG. 7. The ante-chamber, showing the Christian Chapel on the left, and the entrance from the vestibule on the right.



FIG. 8. Reconstruction of an *Orante* in the attitude of prayer.

possibly was seated towards the spectator's left, since the narrow, vertical object roughly parallel to the shaft of the right-hand blue half-column, and the horizontal object beneath the lower fragment with the pearls, suggest the back and cushioned seat respectively of a chair.

The caps of the seven columns are quasi-Ionic in character and they carry the lower edge of a tiled and gabled roof sloping backwards away from the spectator, towards whose right the lines of the tiles slope upwards (Pl. LXVI b).<sup>7</sup> The figures are, then, to be thought of as standing or seated within a covered portico. Beneath the figure-scene was a dado filled with an all-over pattern of somewhat impressionistically painted roses (Pl. LXVI c).

The Christian character of these late antique figures was confirmed once and for all by the reconstruction of fragments of two large-scale representations of the Chi-Rho monogram and the recognition of a third. The two relatively complete examples were painted in red against a white background and surrounded by a wreath of leaves and flowers which are rendered in polychrome. The fragments of one (Pl. LXVI a and Fig. 9) had fallen from a wall of the main room into the basement room below; and, judging from the place in which those fragments were unearthed, from the western end of the south wall of that room. The fragments of the other monogram (Pl. LXVII a) came to light in the debris of the adjoining room. The monogram of the main room could be only incompletely reconstructed, but its essential features were recovered. We have the vital centre-piece, carrying the intersection of the vertical stem of the rho and diagonal arms of the chi; and in the middle of the point of the crossing is the mark of the end of one of the arms of the compass, with the other arm of which the painter traced the line of the circle that the surrounding garland was to follow. There are also faint, but certain, traces of the rho's curved head. The existence of the garland is assured, not only from the compass-mark, but also from fragments carrying both sections of it and either portions of the plain white background of the monogram or scraps of the monogram itself. There is also sure evidence that a *taenia* (ribbon) secures the wreath below; and that on the fluttering ends of the *taenia*, on either side, is perched an inward-facing bird, between whose beak and the lower edge of the wreath there falls through the air a cluster of six dark red seeds or berries. It would seem probable that at least one quasi-Ionic column, and possibly two such columns, flanked the wreath on the spectator's right, since we have two adjoining fragments that depict a section of the wreath (left) and part of a column cap (right) and another fragment carrying a further section of the wreath (left) and what looks like a striped or fluted column shaft (right). It is also possible that one or more columns of the same type stood below the wreath and monogram, since what may be part of a column cap can be seen immediately below a portion of the left-hand end of the *taenia* on one and the same fragment. So far as can be roughly estimated, the total diameter of the monogram and wreath must have been about 2 ft. 8 in.<sup>8</sup> Of the monogram found in the adjoining room seven fragments present a large portion of the head of the rho and a sector of the polychrome wreath just above it (Pl. LXVII a). Two more fragments give us a new, important feature—most of the left-hand curved arm and the tip of the central

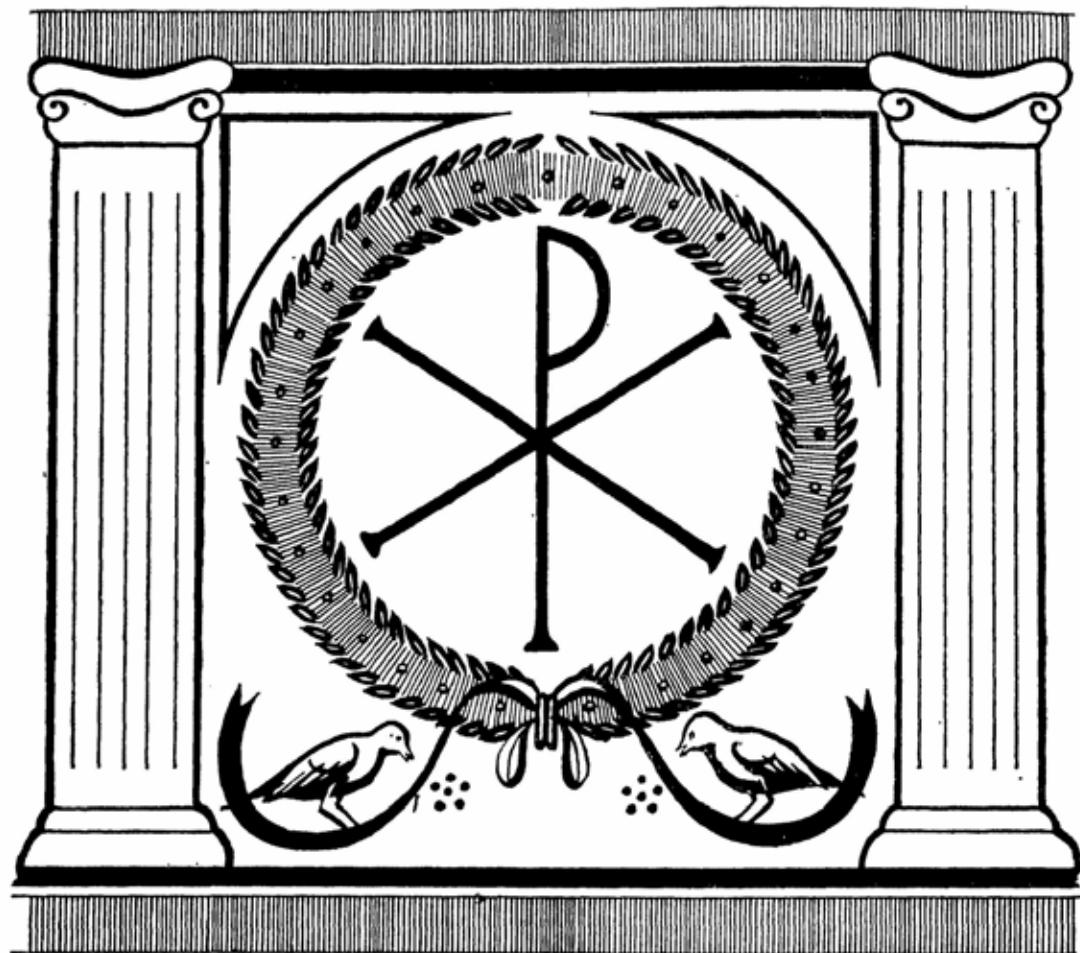


FIG. 9. Reconstruction of the Chi-Rho monogram.

vertical stroke of an open omega, which must have occupied the space between the chi's diagonal arms on the spectator's right and to which an alpha, similarly located on the spectator's left, must have corresponded. Of an alpha and omega in the same positions in the monogram from room A no fragments have so far been assembled. Both monograms would seem to have been of more or less equal size. In the summer of 1956, when search was made for fragments of the painted plaster that had once adorned the east wall of the main room, previously sealed beneath a modern road, many portions of yet another Chi-Rho, again painted in red on a white background within a gaily coloured wreath, were revealed.

Parts of two more human figures drawn on a different scale from that of those

on the west wall of the main room, and certainly from another wall of that upper chamber, may also be Christian in character, but cannot yet be identified. Two adjacent fragments show part of the torso of a man apparently carrying a basket (Pl. LXVII b).<sup>9</sup> Five fragments, which likewise fit together, show the left shoulder of a richly robed personage carrying a long palm branch—possibly a martyr (Pl. LXVII d). There are also fragments showing flowers (Pl. LXVII c) and the head and foreparts of a dog.

What was the purpose of this set of rooms? There is no undeniable proof of liturgical worship, such as that which the baptistery and the altar or cathedra-emplacement of the Dura-Europos house-church furnished;<sup>10</sup> but, as Professor Toynbee points out, the evidence points strongly in that direction. First, there is the fact of the size and elaboration of the Christian paintings. Second, there is the use three times of the sacred monogram. Third, there is the isolation of these rooms from the neighbouring quarters to the south. Fourth, there is the continued use of the Christian rooms for twenty or more years after the kitchen and baths of the house had ceased to function.<sup>11</sup>

What is certain is that the paintings demonstrate that the owners of the house were Christians and of considerable wealth and piety. The alterations to the buildings and their redecoration about A.D. 350 by no means demonstrates a fresh conversion to the official religion of the empire. Professor Frend has pointed out<sup>12</sup> that each of the main elements of the mosaic in the dining suite has a magical or religious significance (Pls. LXVIII b, LXIX). The purpose of the picture of Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus slaying a chimaera with his spear was to ward off evil from the house. The Four Seasons are the symbol of the continuance of life here and hereafter, after the pattern of the seasons, and also of the essential harmony of the universe.<sup>13</sup> The panel representing Europa and the Bull seems at first sight to be an ordinary copy of a mythological scene;<sup>14</sup> but the verse in the couplet opens with the word for jealousy, *invida*.<sup>15</sup> The evil eye was 'jealous', and on half a dozen Christian and pagan rites in Africa of this period we find verses on mosaics beginning with this word. They were to prevent the Evil Eye from possessing the house. Similarly, swastikas and hearts are both found worn as amulets which have turned up on sacred sites from one end of the Roman world to the other, their purpose being to banish evil from the wearer. Frend, of course, in 1955, was arguing only the general point that a trend can be observed in Britain, as elsewhere, towards belief in an after-life and salvation for the initiate.<sup>16</sup> In themselves the elements of the mosaic do not necessarily imply that Christianity was the cult involved; but the Bellerophon motif must now be considered in the light of the Hinton St. Mary pavement, discovered in 1963, where Bellerophon shares a floor with a bust of Christ and must be considered to be Christian in significance, in spite of a recent vigorous statement to the contrary by Brandenburg.<sup>17</sup> The mosaic does not prove that the owners were already

Christian before the alterations of A.D. 350; but it is by no means out of the question.

What remains to be considered is the context in which the alterations to the Lullingstone villa were carried out and the paintings were executed. Christianity was probably introduced to Britain as early as the second century, perhaps by the time of Severus, for it may have been in A.D. 208–9 that St. Alban was martyred at Verulamium.<sup>18</sup> There is, however, so little surviving evidence for Christianity in the province in the second and third centuries, except for the Cirencester cryptogram,<sup>19</sup> that it may be taken as certain that Christianity was a minority religion confined for the most part to foreign traders and immigrants. Even after Christianity became recognized throughout the Empire in A.D. 312 relics of the faith are curiously rare in the towns of Britain, and the most substantial is the little church built about A.D. 360 at Silchester.<sup>20</sup> This small church and the general paucity of evidence, as Professor Frere has pointed out, suggest small numbers and a lack of wealth, and this is supported by the record that poverty compelled three of the British bishops attending the Council of Ariminum in A.D. 359 to accept Constantius' offer of free transport by the imperial posting service on their journey.<sup>21</sup> There is, on the other hand, good evidence that the cult was firmly established from early in the fourth century, even if numbers were small, for one may cite the fact that by A.D. 314, when the Council of Arles assembled, the urban episcopate of Britain was well established, for three British bishops and a priest and a deacon attended the council.<sup>22</sup> In addition there is a number of Christian objects found in Britain large enough to be significant. There are, for example, pewter dishes from Welney and Appleshaw, spoons from the Mildenhall hoard and Chedworth villa, engraved silver table ware from Traprain Law, and gold signet-rings from the Fifehead Neville villa, and Christian monograms scratched on freestone slabs at Chedworth.<sup>23</sup> These are all associated with villas or their owners. Other finds have been made in Roman towns, such as London, Exeter, Canterbury, and Catterick, or on military sites such as Brancaster and Carnarvon, where one of Britain's few pieces of evidence for Gnosticism was discovered.<sup>24</sup> It is the evidence from the villas in the countryside, however, that has grown immensely in importance in recent years, in particular with the discoveries of the Lullingstone villa, the Christian mosaic pavement at Hinton St. Mary, of the Mildenhall Treasure, and the series of Christian lead fonts such as that found at Icklingham.<sup>25</sup> They make it quite clear that Christianity was far more widespread than it was possible to guess thirty years ago, and yet at the same time they emphasize that Christianity was a minority cult in Britain, confined to the upper classes, whose relics are found for the most part in the villas and occasionally in the towns as well. As Frend has pointed out, it seems quite certain that we are not dealing with a great popular movement.<sup>26</sup> We have neither literary evidence for it nor archaeological remains. In North

Africa, in contrast, every village in central Numidia has its martyr's shrine, and Christian cemeteries, such as at Timgad and Tipasa each contained upwards of 15,000 graves.<sup>27</sup> Frere has suggested, on the other hand, that by the end of the fourth century Christianity had made some progress.<sup>28</sup> He says, 'Concomitantly with the decay of paganism, our evidence for Christianity itself becomes richer with the emergence of historical personalities such as Pelagius, Ninian or Patrick, and with the survival of the writings of early fifth-century British Christians such as Patrick or Fastidius; while the suggestive description of the occasion in 429, when St. Germanus met the *immensa multitudo* and converted it from Pelagianism to orthodox Catholicism, points to a cult now at last making headway as a popular movement.' Yet if one has doubts about the significance of *immensa* in an account of this period written from the Christian standpoint, there is very little indeed to set against the view that Christianity in Britain was almost entirely a religion practised by some of the richer landowners and that, when the social and economic circumstances of the empire destroyed their class and way of life, the cult died with them.

Such a conclusion, however, does not mean that Christianity in Britain was insignificant or unimportant. That we know of Pelagius, Ninian, Patrick, and Fastidius, who were the equal of any of the other fathers of the Church, implies a vigorous and lively intellectual community from which they could spring. In the realm of material remains the Lullingstone wall-paintings show that at this period Roman Britain was fully sharing in the main stream of Christian art in the west, just as it was fully sharing in the Western traditions of Church government and doctrine. One can find parallels to the Lullingstone wall-paintings in a sarcophagus and wall-paintings in the catacombs at Rome, in a fourth-century mosaic representing a church from a Christian church at Tabarka on the north coast of Tunisia, and on the sarcophagus of Saint-Connat.<sup>29</sup> On their own account they have been described, quite rightly, as giving the general impression from the richness of design and colouring, of the Mediterranean world of the fourth-fifth century, of southern Gaul, and even of Ravenna.<sup>30</sup> With the other two major Christian discoveries of the last three decades, the Mildenhall Treasure and the Hinton St. Mary mosaic, they have completely changed our conception of Christianity in Roman Britain. When combined with the other evidence, both written and archaeological, they have enabled us to appreciate that Christianity in Britain was both distinctive in character and important out of all proportion to the quantity of remains it has left behind.<sup>31</sup>

K. S. PAINTER

<sup>1</sup> The fullest publications so far have been the works by G. W. Meates and J. M. C. Toynbee, cited below. For the mausoleum see *Journal of Roman Studies*, xlix (1959), pp. 132–3. In the notes abbreviated titles are used as follows: Frend (1955): W. H. C. Frend, *Religion in Roman*

*Britain in the Fourth Century*', in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xviii (1955), pp. 1–18; Frend (1965): W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1965); Frere (1967): S. S. Frere, *Britannia, A History of Roman Britain*

(Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1967); Meates *et al.* (1951): G. W. Meates, E. Greenfield, and E. Birchenough, 'The Lullingstone Roman Villa, in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, lxiii for 1950 (1951), pp. 1-49; Meates *et al.* (1953): G. W. Meates, E. Greenfield, and E. Birchenough, 'The Lullingstone Roman Villa, Second Interim Report', in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, lxi for 1952 (1953), pp. 26-78; Meates (1954): G. W. Meates, 'The Lullingstone Roman Villa, Third Interim Report', in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, lxvi for 1953 (1954), pp. 15-36; Meates (1955): G. W. Meates, *The Lullingstone Roman Villa* (Heinemann, 1955); Meates (1956): 'Lullingstone Roman Villa', in R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford (ed.), *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1956), pp. 87-110; Toynbee (1953): J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Christianity in Roman Britain' in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xvi (1953), pp. 1-24; Toynbee (1962): J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (Phaidon, 1962); Toynbee (1964): J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans* (Oxford, 1964).

<sup>2</sup> For the busts see *J.R.S.* xl (1950), pp. 112-13, pl. 10, fig. 2; Meates (1951), pp. 35-43, pls. 2-4; *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Romano-British Antiquities in the Castle Museum, Colchester, July 1950*, pl. 5; Meates (1955), pp. 70-89, pls. 17-29; Meates (1956), pp. 96-100, figs. 36-7, pls. 19 b and 20 b; Toynbee (1962), no. 10, pp. 126-8, pl. 6; Toynbee (1964), pp. 59-63, pls. x, xi. The two busts are carved in marble, were originally meant to stand against a wall or in niches, and were intended to be realistic likenesses. The smaller and better-preserved of the two was probably not carved later than c. A.D. 125-35 and depicts an unknown Roman of distinction aged about 45 or 50 and wearing semi-military dress, a tunic, and a fringed cloak. The head and body of the larger bust were separated in ancient times. It depicts a man wearing civilian dress, a tunic and a toga, and aged about 50 or 55. It was carved c. A.D. 155-65, or even later. The two busts have certain characteristics in common—the deep-set eyes, the slightly prominent forehead, the long upper lip, and the wide close-set mouth with drooping corners. Professor Toynbee convincingly suggests that they may be family portraits, dating from successive generations. The style suggests an east Mediterranean, rather than Italian or western provenance, and parallels may be found in Jale Inan and Elisabeth Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early*

*Byzantine Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London, 1966), e.g. p. 174, no. 232, pl. cxviii. Professor Toynbee concludes that it would be reasonable to suppose that the sculptures represent part of the family portrait gallery of some individual in the imperial service, stationed in Britain for a longish term, and that they were brought by him into the province. Such an individual could have lived, partly, at least, at Lullingstone during the site's occupation in the late second century, c. A.D. 180-200, when the villa was remodelled and decorated on luxurious lines. After the villa had been abandoned for some eighty years it was reoccupied c. A.D. 280. The new owners deposited the busts carefully in the basement room and sealed them up there, in a kind of mausoleum, below the room which was later to be decorated with the main series of Christian wall-paintings.

<sup>3</sup> It must also be recorded that the gift might never have come about had it not been for the good offices and good will of the excavator, Lt.-Col. G. W. Meates, F.S.A., and of the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Mr. A. J. Taylor, F.S.A. It should perhaps be made clear here that, although this paper deals only with the Christian wall-plaster of the fourth century, there is also decorated plaster of the second century, and that not only the Christian but all the plaster has been presented to the Museum. The final report on the plaster will, by the invitation of the excavator, Lt.-Col. Meates, be undertaken by Miss J. Liversidge, F.S.A.

<sup>4</sup> Outside the mosaic picture is a broad, horse-shoe-shaped area of large plain *tesserae* on which would have stood the semicircular dining table and the couches of the diners.

<sup>5</sup> 'If jealous Juno had seen the swimming of the bull she would with greater justice on her side have repaired to the halls of Aeolus.'

<sup>6</sup> Such curtains, shown frequently behind the figures of the dead in late Roman funerary art, both pagan and Christian, probably symbolize the vault of the sky where the dead have gone to dwell, or the veil that hides the after-life from view. It would seem, then, as Professor Toynbee concludes, that Fig. 2 at Lullingstone depicts a dead person.

<sup>7</sup> For a striking parallel arrangement of columns and roof-tiles see the mosaic representing a church from the top of a tomb at Thabraca on the north coast of Tunisia. This was first noted by Frend (1955), p. 6. See H. Leclercq, s.v. 'Église', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, iv. 2, cols. 2231-3.

<sup>8</sup> Professor Toynbee points out that, 'a notable

parallel to the scheme of design of this monogram is provided by the carving in the central panel of a marble-columned sarcophagus of the mid fourth century, found in the Domitilla Catacomb near Rome and now in the Lateran Christian Museum [no. 171: C. van der Meer and C. Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World*, 1958, pp. 142-3, 145, figs. 466-7]. There, in the lateral panels, are scenes from Our Lord's Passion, His encounter with Pilate in the two panels on the right, His crowning with thorns (for which a wreath of jewelled laurel is actually substituted), and the carrying of the Cross by Simon the Cyrenaean on the left. The two innermost colonettes support a shell-shaped semi-dome, from the crown of which emerges the head of an eagle holding in its beak a laurel wreath that encircles a large-scale, very prominent Chi-Rho monogram. The ends of the *taenia* that binds the wreath fly out on either side, carved in low relief against the background. The bottom of the wreath rests on the top of the vertical stem of a cross-like feature, on each of the horizontal arms of which is perched an inward-facing bird, pecking at the wreath. Beneath the arms of the Cross two sleeping soldiers are seated. The monogram, wreathed in victor's laurel, does, in fact, represent Our Lord rising from the Holy Sepulchre, the place of which is taken by the Cross. Life is triumphant over death, Easter Sunday over Good Friday. The Cross has become the banner of the Victor; and it has been suggested [van der Meer and Mohrmann, op. cit.], that the soldiers' attitudes were intended to recall those of conquered barbarians crouched beneath a pagan Roman trophy. The birds are Christian souls feeding on the life-giving garland, just as at Lullingstone the birds eat seeds or berries falling from the wreath; and the busts of Sun and Moon in the angles above the springs of the semi-dome represent the vault of Heaven, into which the eagle is carrying the wreath and monogram. It may well be that at Lullingstone the main-room monogram, at any rate, symbolized the Resurrection and that, if there really were, say, two columns below the wreath, they suggested the architecture of the Tomb.'

<sup>9</sup> These were originally thought to show a man wearing a type of chain-mail armour, with his left arm akimbo, and therefore perhaps a soldier or saint. Lt.-Col. Meates, however, has pointed out to me that this hypothesis can now be discounted.

<sup>10</sup> M. I. Rostovtzeff (ed.), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Fifth Season of Work, 1931-2, 1934*, pp. 238-88, pls. 39-51.

<sup>11</sup> Meates (1955), pp. xv, 159-66.

<sup>12</sup> Frend (1955), p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> The theme of the Four Seasons is found represented on sarcophagi, and on one sepulchral inscription has been written (*Carmina epigr.* 439):

Spring will furnish her welcome gifts with flowers.

And joyous summer will nod the leafy locks you love;

Autumn will evermore furnish grapes.

Winter will bear lightly upon your soil.

<sup>14</sup> For detailed accounts and bibliographies of the known Bellérophon pavements see Jacques Aymard, 'La Mosaique de Bellérophon à Nîmes', in *Gallia*, xi (1953), pp. 249-71; J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Mosaïques au Bellérophon', in *Gallia*, xiii (1955), pp. 91-7; J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Encore des Mosaïques de Bellérophon', in *Gallia*, xvi (1958), pp. 262-6; Toynbee (1964), pp. 264-5. The Bellérophon mosaic at Hinton St. Mary is the thirteenth such representation to be discovered, or the fourteenth if the damaged central roundel at Frampton is similarly identified, as it probably should be. The other mosaics are at Olynthus in Greece, at Autun, Avenches, Nîmes, and Reims in France, at Herzogenbuchsee in Switzerland, at Parndorf in Austria, at Coimbra in Portugal, at Gerona in Spain, at Lullingstone and Frampton in England, at Ravenna in Italy, and at Istanbul in Turkey. Chronologically they range from the fifth century B.C. in Greece to the sixth century A.D. at Istanbul. The majority, however, seem to fall into a group in the western provinces, to be dated between the second and fourth centuries A.D. and the popularity of the theme may well date from the time of Hadrian.

<sup>15</sup> Frend (1955), p. 15; also article, 'Oeil', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, xii. 2, cols. 1936-43.

<sup>16</sup> On this subject in general see I. A. Richmond, *Archaeology, and the After-Life in Pagan and Christian Imagery* (University of Durham, Riddell Memorial Lectures, Twentieth Series, Oxford University Press, 1950).

<sup>17</sup> Hugo Brandenburg, 'Bellérophon Christianus? Zur Deutung des Mosaiks von Hinton St. Mary und zum Problem der Mythendarstellungen in der kaiserzeitlichen dekorativen Kunst', in *Römische Quartalschrift* lixiii (1968), pts. 1/2, pp. 49-86. He admits that the Chi-Rho must represent Christ; but he assumes that the owner was chiefly interested in motifs suggesting well-being and good food. He takes Bellérophon to

represent the ideal-hunter who provides food for the table, and he thinks that the Chi-Rho bust is not Our Lord as Saviour, but as a sort of 'magical' provider of the good things of this life. Brandenburg wants all the motifs in the mosaic to be 'status-symbols' of the owners' wealth and abundance of the good things of this life. There is surely, however, as Professor Toynbee has pointed out to me, no more difficulty in interpreting the Hinton St. Mary Bellerophon as an 'ideal' of victory over evil and death than as an 'ideal' hunter. And since winds, hunting-scenes, rosettes, and pomegranates are ubiquitous funerary symbols, there is no reason why they should not be symbolic on the Hinton St. Mary mosaic. It seems, moreover, to create unnecessary difficulties if one insists on taking the one clear motif as being not Christian but merely the representative symbol of a kind of magical all-provider of material goods. The prominence of the Chi-Rho bust seems in fact to put the truly Christian character of the Hinton St. Mary mosaic beyond all doubt. If parallels are wanted for traditional pagan motifs in a Christian context, and therefore bearing an undoubted Christian interpretation, one needs only to look, for example, at the mosaics of the fourth-century cathedral at Aquileia.

<sup>18</sup> See Frere (1967), p. 332, quoting Dr. J. R. Morris, 'That the faith had reached Britain before the time of Severus is suggested by the probability that it was in 208-9 that St. Alban became the first British martyr. His death has often been attributed to the persecution of Diocletian, but there is good ancient testimony that no martyrdoms occurred in those parts of the western empire ruled by his colleague Constantius I (Augustine, *Ep.* 88, 2), and Britain was part of the dominion of the latter. The text of the earliest manuscript of St. Alban's *Passio*, whose detailed knowledge of the topography of Verulamium gives it undoubted authority, describes his judge as 'Caesar', who 'without an order from the emperors commanded the persecution to cease, and reported to them that the slaughter of the Saints was stimulating rather than suppressing the spread of Christianity' (*Tunc impiissimus Caesar exanimis, tanta novitate perculsus, iniussu etiam principum iubet de persecutione cessare, referens gaudere potius religionem caede sanctorum, per quam eandem opinabantur aboleri. Later MSS. change Caesar to iudex).*' Frend (1965), pp. 527-8, however, argues strongly against this date and tends towards the great persecution of A.D. 303-12 under Diocletian,

'The cult of St. Alban can be traced back to A.D. 429 when St. Germanus is said to have visited his tomb. Constantius, *Vita Sancti Germani*, 16 and 18 (M.G.H., vii. 262 and 265) and Gildas, *De Excidio*, 10, preserve the tradition of his martyrdom. Not before Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, 1, 7, was the event placed in the Great Persecution. One tradition, preserved in the Turin MS. and forming the basis of the account preserved in the *Vita Sancti Germani* and Bede is so accurate in its geographical detail of Verulamium that it must go back into the Roman period, but according to this tradition Alban was a victim of Severus' reign, condemned by Geta when he was governing southern Britain while his father and brother were absent on campaigns. Here also, the accurate presentation of circumstantial detail must be taken into account. To quote correspondence from Dr John Morris, University College, London, 'I think you have here a fragment of a fourth-century *passio*, written by somebody who knew fourth-century Verulamium, taken over by the MSS.' It would be difficult to deny the reality of Alban's martyrdom, but rash to attempt to choose between Severus, Decius or Diocletian as the emperor concerned. It is very hard, however, to reconcile the martyrdom of Alban in the early or even mid third century with the complete absence of evidence for Christianity in Verulamium until the first quarter of the fifth. See Wm. Meyer, 'Die Legende des Albanus, des protomartyr Angliae in Texten vor Beda', *Abhand, Göttingen*, 1904, 1 ff., Wm. Levi-son, 'St. Alban and St. Albans', *Antiquity*, 1942, 337 ff., and C. E. Stevens, 'Gildas Sapiens', *EHR*, 1943, 73.'

<sup>19</sup> Found in 1868, scratched in rustic capitals on a fragment of red wall-plaster from a Roman house, reading ROTAS/OPERA/TENET/AREPO/SATOR, and generally translated, 'the sower Arepo holds the wheel carefully'. In 1926 Grosser published his discovery that all the letters can be rearranged to form a cross, of which the vertical and horizontal limbs are each composed of the words PATER NOSTER, with the single N at the central point of intersection and A and O (alpha and omega) before and after each PATER NOSTER. See Toynbee (1953), pp. 2-3.

<sup>20</sup> *Archaeologia*, lxxii (1893), p. 564; *Victoria County History of Hampshire*, 1 (1900), pp. 271 ff., 364 ff.; F. Haeverfield and G. Macdonald, *Roman Occupation of Britain* (1924), 207, fig. 43; Toynbee (1953), pp. 6-9. In 1961 the building was re-examined, and the summary report in 'Roman

Britain in 1961', in *Journal of Roman Studies*, lii (1962), pp. 185–6, reads: 'At Silchester the building in the SE corner of Insula IV, excavated in 1892 and then identified as a Christian church, was re-examined in 1961 for the Silchester Excavation Committee, under the direction of Professor I. A. Richmond. (a) Only one course of the superstructure survived, at the N side of the apse and on the W wall of the adjacent northern room, where both the W and N walls have been rebuilt to foundation level after slight subsidence. The screen-wall dividing this room from the N aisle had also been remodelled. It was originally built in timber-framing set on a concrete sill, with a three ft. door, marked by a hole for the doorpost, leaving a short length of wall at the N end. It was re-built with central opening, flanked by two screen walls. A new feature discovered in the vestibule of the building was a circular flint foundation 22 ins. in diameter set centrally at its N end. This had been covered, after removal of the object supported by the foundation, by a squatter's hearth of post-Roman date. Squatters' hollows and post-holes had penetrated and largely destroyed the red tessellated pavement at the E end of the nave of the building. Among the churned mud and flooring-material filling the hollows was a group of Constantinian coins, to three of which still adhered the white mortar of the pavement, in which they had evidently once been embodied. The three coins in question are a *follis* of A.D. 309–313, an *Urbs Roma* (A.D. 330–335), and a *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* copy (A.D. 348–353), the last somewhat worn. This gives a *terminus post quem* of at least A.D. 360 for the laying of the pavement and the construction of the building. On the road outside the building lay a coin of Caesar Constantius II (A.D. 335–7). (b) A full examination was also made of the axial structure to the E of the building. The tile base, 4 ft. square, found in 1892, proved to occupy the middle of a heavy flint foundation, in the W end of which the so-called 'pit' proved to be a soak-away, carefully built in flint and tile and 20 in. square, forming an integral part of the structure. This strengthens the view that the tile foundation carried a laver, if it was not itself the bottom of a built basin. The edge of the foundation had been heavily robbed, but a well-built straight edge survived on the S side, attesting a little building some 11½ ft. square. (c) The study of the two buildings is proceeding and a final verdict on the basis of comparative material is *sub-iudice*. But the combination of date and type of

buildings strongly favours the notion of a Christian church, with a table of offerings at the N end of the vestibule and a baptistery in an axial position in front of the church. The plan of the transeptal rooms echoes that of the famous large Constantinian churches, such as St. Peter's and the Lateran in Rome, and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.'

<sup>21</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sacr.* ii. 41.

<sup>22</sup> Toynbee (1953), p. 4. Dr. J. C. Mann ('The Administration of Roman Britain', in *Antiquity*, xxxv, 1961, pp. 316–20) suggests that the priest and deacon formed a fourth delegation, their bishop being for some reason unable to attend. Sir Ian Richmond, however, took them to be the attendants of Bishop Adelphius, their attendance perhaps indicating his primacy (*Archaeological Journal*, ciii, 1947, p. 64). Mann's hypothesis that the three bishops and the other two represented the metropolitical churches of the four British provinces of the day, is attractive; but Richmond's suggestion seems to me to account more satisfactorily for the force of *exinde* in the last item, *exinde Sacerdos presbyter, Arminius diaconus*.

<sup>23</sup> Welney: *Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Proc.* xli (1949), 79; Appleshaw: G. H. Engleheart, 'On some buildings of the Romano-British period, discovered at Clanville, near Andover, and on a deposit of Pewter Vessels of the same period found at Appleshaw, Hants.', in *Archaeologia*, lvi (1898), and F. Haverfield, 'Romano-British Hampshire', in *A History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (Victoria History of the Counties of England, 1900), vol. i, pp. 297–8; Mildenhall: J. W. Brailsford, *The Mildenhall Treasure*, The British Museum, 1947; Chedworth, *Archaeological Journal*, xxvi (1869), p. 225, and St. Clair Baddeley, *Chedworth Roman Villa*, 1934, p. 25; Traprain Law, A. O. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain*, 1923; Fifield Neville, *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, ser. 2 (1881–3), 68, *Ant. Journ.* ii (1922), p. 89, Toynbee (1953), p. 19, and B.M. *Guide to Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, 1921, figs. 33, 34; Chedworth slabs, Toynbee (1953), pp. 14–15.

<sup>24</sup> London: B.M. *Guide to Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, 1921, fig. 38, and *J.R.S.* xlvi (1954), p. 107; Exeter: Aileen Fox, *Roman Exeter*, 1952, p. 92; Canterbury: K. S. Painter, 'A Roman Silver Treasure from Canterbury', in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxviii (1965), pp. 1–15, F. Jenkins, 'St. Martin's Church at Canterbury: A Survey of the Earliest Structural Features', in *Medieval Archaeology*, ix

(1965), pp. 11–15; Catterick: *J.R.S.* 1 (1960), p. 239; Brancaster: *V.C.H. Norfolk*, i (1901), p. 304; Carnarvon: G. C. Boon, 'The Gold Brooch and Gold Phylactery from Segontium', in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xxi, pt. i (Nov. 1964), pp. 96–9.

<sup>25</sup> *Hinton St. Mary*: J. M. C. Toynbee, 'The Christian Roman Mosaic, Hinton St. Mary, Dorset' (*Dorset Monographs* No. 3, published by the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, 1964; also printed in volume 85 of the Society's *Proceedings*); J. M. C. Toynbee, 'The Christian Roman Mosaic, Hinton St. Mary, Dorset', in *Journal of Roman Studies*, lxiv (1964), pp. 7–14; K. S. Painter, 'The Roman Site at Hinton St. Mary, Dorset', in *B.M.Q.*, xxxii (1967), pp. 15–31; C. C. Taylor, 'The Later History of the Roman Site at Hinton St. Mary, Dorset', in *B.M.Q.*, xxxii (1967), pp. 31–5. *Lead Tanks*: Toynbee (1953), pp. 15–16.

<sup>26</sup> Frend (1955), p. 7.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Frere (1967), p. 334.

<sup>29</sup> *Catacombs*: G. Wilpert, *Roma Sotterranea, Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane* (Rome, 1903),

e.g. pls. 88, 174; *Tabarka*: H. Leclercq, 'Eglise', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, iv. 2, cols. 2231–3; *Saint-Cannat sarcophagus*: H. Leclercq, op. cit. iv. 2, col. 2229.

<sup>30</sup> Frend (1955), p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Special thanks are due to Lt.-Col. G. W. Meates and Professor J. M. C. Toynbee for permission to make extensive use of their published work, and of Lt.-Col. Meates's illustrations, to Miss J. Liversidge and Mr. R. A. H. Farrar for generous and prompt help with illustrations from Lt.-Col. Meates's negatives, to Dr. A. E. Werner and Mr. H. Barker for continuing advice on conservation, to Mr. P. Compton for his drawings and photographs and constructive advice on the arrangement of the plaster, to Mr. P. Shorer and his staff, especially Mrs. S. Davison, for their conservation and enthusiastic work far beyond what has been asked of them, to Miss M. Salisbury and her staff, and especially to Mrs. I. Cotton.

*Addendum*: Between September 1968, when this paper was completed, and February 1969, work on the plaster has revealed mistakes in the description of the plaster which will be corrected later.

# LIST OF ACQUISITIONS

## DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS

*Acquisitions, July 1967 to June 1968<sup>1</sup>*

'Hortus Christianus': Latin elegiac couplets on scriptural themes by W. P. Würdtwein; c. 1740 (?). Add. MS. 54196. *Transferred from the Department of Printed Books.*

Letters from Philip Heseltine ('Peter Warlock') to Colin Taylor; 1911-29. Add. MS. 54197. *Presented by the recipient.*

Minute-book of the Commissioners for Discoveries; 10 June 1656-21 May 1657. Add. MS. 54198. *Presented by the Friends of the National Libraries.*

Drafts of poems, etc., by Cecil Day Lewis, Edgell Rickword and Charles Tomlinson, acquired through the Arts Council; 20th cent. Add. MSS. 54199-201.

Dr. Robert Willis, register of official bulletins of the illness of George III, and related notebooks, supplementing Add. MSS. 41690-736; 1811-12. Add. MSS. 54202-6.

Roberto Valentini, six sonatas for two violincelli; early 18th cent. Add. MS. 54207.

Copies of incidental music for 'Where the Rainbow ends' by Roger Quilter, and related materials; c. 1911. Add. MSS. 54208-10. *Presented by Miss Ruth Conti.*

Letters from Richard Aldington to his second wife, Netta; 1951-62. Add. MS. 54211. *Bequeathed by Miss Lilian Joyce Ludlow.*

Autograph music by William Havergal Brian, supplementing Add. MSS. 51056-65; 1966-7. Add. MSS. 54212, 54213. *Presented by the composer.*

Autograph settings of folksongs by Dr. Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M. (1872-1958), supplementing Add. MSS. 50361-482, etc.

Add. MS. 54214. *Presented by Mrs. Ursula Vaughan Williams.*

Leaf from the Oscott Psalter (Add. MS. 50000), formerly at Ampleforth College; c. 1270. Add. MS. 54215.

Journal of the Visconde de Torre Bella during the Portuguese Civil War, relating to operations in the Azores; 1832-4. Add. MS. 54216. *Presented by the Librarian of the Foreign Office.*

Letters of Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones, 1st Bart., to Mrs. Helen Mary Gaskell, C.B.E.; 1892-8, n.d. Add. MSS. 54217-18. *Presented by the recipient in 1937 and previously reserved from public use.*

Lytton Strachey, 'Eminent Victorians', published 1918. Autograph manuscript, drafts and notes. Add. MSS. 54219-23. *Presented by Mrs. Alix Strachey.*

Autograph letters, etc., of prominent persons, formerly exhibited in the National Portrait Gallery with their portraits. Add. MSS. 54224-6. *Presented by the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery.*

Miscellaneous letters and papers. Add. MS. 54227.

Estate memorandum-book of the Hotot family, of Clopton, co. Northants; 13th cent. Formerly Phillipps MS. 12025. Add. MS. 54228. *Purchased with the aid of contributions from Sir Edward Geoffrey de Capell-Brooke, Bart., C.B.E., and the Friends of the National Libraries.*

Manuscripts bequeathed by Dr. Eric George Millar, formerly Keeper of Manuscripts at

<sup>1</sup> The following list includes manuscripts incorporated into the collections between July 1967 and June 1968. The inclusion of a manuscript in

this list does not necessarily imply that it is available for study.

the British Museum (d. 1966). The manuscripts are described in 'The Eric George Millar Bequest of Manuscripts and Drawings 1967. A Commemorative Volume', Trustees of the British Museum 1968. Add. MSS. 54229-323.

Six leaves of polyphonic music, including compositions by John Plummer and John Dunstable; late 15th cent. Add. MS. 54324. *Purchased with the aid of contributions from Professor Thurston Dart, and from an anonymous donor.*

Bible in Anglo-Norman; 14th cent. Formerly Phillipps MS. 3202. Add. MS. 54325. *Purchased with the aid of a contribution from Miss N. Elizabeth Ratcliffe.*

Autograph full score of 'Job, a Masque for Dancing', by Dr. Ralph Vaughan Williams, O.M., supplementing Add. MSS. 50361-482, etc.; 1930. Add. MS. 54326. *Presented by Sir Adrian Boult.*

Fragment of verse by John Masefield, O.M., and drafts of poems by Margiad Evans, together with a letter from Sidney Keyes to David Wright; 20th cent. Add. MS. 54327. *Presented (except for the last item) by the Arts Council.*

Miscellaneous papers, including papers of William Eden, 1st Baron Auckland 1789 (d. 1814), supplementing Add. MSS. 34412-71. Add. MS. 54328.

Letters of Algernon Blackwood, Walter de la Mare, and others, addressed to Miss Vera Stacey Wainwright; 1923-64. Add. MSS. 54329-30. *Presented by the beneficiaries of the estate of the recipient.*

Italian operatic arias; late 18th cent. Add. MS. 54331.

Oxenden papers, supplementing Add. MSS. 40696-713; 17th cent. Formerly Loan MS. 18. Add. MSS. 54332-4. *Presented by Muriel, Lady Capel-Cure.*

Transcripts, mainly typewritten, of the archives of Propaganda relating to the island of Chios, supplementing Add. MSS. 46205-215; 1533-1805. Add. MSS. 54335, 54336. *Presented by Philip P. Argenti, Esq., C.V.O., M.B.E.*

Autograph sketches for the music-drama 'Agamemnon' by William Havergal Brian, supplementing Add. MSS. 51056-65, 54212, 54213; 1957. Add. MS. 54337. *Presented by the composer.*

Correspondence of, or relating to, 'George Eliot' (Mary Ann Cross née Evans); 1872-80. Add. MSS. 54338.

Josef Holbrooke, autograph full score of 'Dylan, Son of the Wave'; 1914. Add. MS. 54339.

Jean de la Fontaine, 'Le Loup et le Renard'; 1690 or 1691. Autograph. Egerton MS. 3780.

Leaf from a Latin treatise on the Vices, written and illuminated for a member of the Cocharelli family of Genoa; late 14th cent. The leaf follows Egerton MS. 3127, f. 2; other parts of the same manuscript are Add. MSS. 27695, 28841. Egerton MS. 3781.

DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL PRINTED BOOKS AND  
MANUSCRIPTS

*Selected Acquisitions, July 1967 to June 1968*

I. ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

The Qur'an, copied in 970/1563 at Herat in fine Nashī script. The Sūrat al-Fātiḥah and the opening of the Sūrat al-Baqarah are on opposite pages, richly ornamented in blue and gold. The rest of the text is inscribed within blue and gold ruled margins, with some lines in large gold Tulutī. This Qur'an was once the property of Shāh Jahān's Wazīr, who made an offering of it to the shrine of a Sufi Saint Šayh Darwiš, near Jullundur in India where it remained until the partition. (Or. 13087.)

al-Mawāqif, by 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muhyī ad-Dīn al-Gazā'ī, Amir of Mu'askar (d. 1300/1883). A Sufi treatise, not mentioned by Brockelmann, mostly consisting of mystical comments on verses from the Qur'an, with comments also on Traditions of the Prophet and sayings and writings of various Sufis. The doctrine expounded is mainly metaphysical but sometimes cosmological. The text is in 3 volumes, copied in Nashī in 1314/1896. (Or. 13124.)

Kitāb Manālāwus fī l-aṣkāl al-kuriyyah, by Menelaus of Alexandria. A treatise on spheres translated into Arabic by Abū l-Faḍl Ahmād ibn Abī Sa'id al-Harawī (fl. 371/982). With diagrams. Copied in Nashī in 548/1153. (Or. 13127.)

II. ASSAMESE MANUSCRIPT

Kirtana-ghoṣā. A cycle of poems for congregational devotions by Śāṅkaradeva (c. 1449–1568). The manuscript consists of 179 paper folios, of which 341 sides have coloured illustrations. Probably 18th century. (Or. 13086.)

III. JAPANESE MANUSCRIPT

Aoba. An illustrated manuscript (Nara-ehon) containing an *otogi-zōshi* story of the Muromachi period. With five single-page and one double-page illustrations in colour. Copied probably in the early 18th century. (Or. 13131.)

IV. MOSO MANUSCRIPTS

Eleven manuscripts in the Moso or Nakhi language, from the Likiang area, Yunnan province. 18th–19th centuries. (Or. 13067–77.)

V. PANJABI MANUSCRIPT

Janam-sākhī. A biography of Guru Nānak, written in V.S. 1582 (A.D. 1525). Copied in bold Gurmukhi script in the 18th century. (Or. 13113.)

VI. PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS

Akhhlāk-i Muhsini. A work on ethics by Ḥusain Vā'iz Kāshī. A calligraphic copy made by Sultān Ḥusain in 912/1506–7. Nasta'līk. (Or. 13089.)

Şāhīfēh-i Nūr. A magnavī poem written in honour of the Ṣafavid Dynasty. The various sections, each of which bears a separate title, deal with the genealogy of the Ṣafavids, the reigns of Shāh Tahmāsp and Shāh 'Abbās I and the events of the reign of 'Abbās II, including a horoscope of the Shāh. The date of composition (1060/1650) is given in two places. Copied by Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī who appears to be the author, judging by the title and the numerous references to Nūr in the text. Fine Nasta'līk within gold-ruled and coloured margins on gold-sprinkled paper. Contemporary gilt-stamped binding with

designs of flowers, birds, and animals. Doubles with gold filigree decoration over coloured grounds. (Or. 13102.)

#### VII. SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

Rāhu-mālā-tikā. A commentary on a Hindu astronomical work. Birch-bark, in leather binding. Sāradā script. Kashmir. Probably 18th century. (Or. 13090.)

Anthology of Sanskrit texts, including Devī-mahātmyā and Bhagavad-gītā. With 29 miniatures. Sāradā script. Kashmir, c. 1800. With contemporary red leather binding, tooled and cloth cover. (Or. 13103.)

#### VIII. TURKISH MANUSCRIPTS

A manuscript containing four works (i) Hikâyät-i müsâffâ. A collection of stories about the wiles of women compiled by Vedâdî. Neskhî. Copied in 1098/1686–7. (ii) Copy of a letter addressed to Hasan Paşa giving the orders for the dispositions of the Ottoman army which led to the capture of Kamenets Podolsky in 1083/1672. Ta'lik. 17th century. (iii) Letâ'if-i Münîrî. Humorous stories of Münîrî edited and retold with some embellishment by Vedâdî. Neskhî. 17th century. (iv) A poem written in 1084/1673–

4 by a certain Hasan describing the tribulations of the Ottoman garrison at Kamenets Podolsky. Ta'lik. Late 17th century. (Or. 13105.)

Nigâristân. A parallel to the Bahâristân of Jâmî written by Kemâlpâşazâde. No other copies appear to be recorded. Copied probably in the 16th century in elegant Ta'lik within gold-ruled margins. (Or. 13106.)

Firdevs el-meva'iz. Anecdotes of holy men arranged according to the religious virtues, pious practices, and supernatural gifts which they illustrate. This anonymous work is said to be a translation from a Persian original ascribed to Abû'l-Laith al-Samarkandî. Copied in 972/1564–5. Neskhî, with all the vowels. (Or. 13121.)

#### IX. UIGHUR MANUSCRIPT

Three fragments of Buddhist works. Probably 10th century. (Or. 13085 a–c.)

#### X. URDU MANUSCRIPT

Shâkkah-i Faiz. A treatise on Sufism and Islamic theology, by Tâlib Husain Shâh Husainî Kâdirî. Copied in 1290/1873–4. Fair Nasta'lik. (Or. 13096.)

### DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS AND DRAWINGS

*Acquisitions, July 1967 to June 1968*

#### I. AMERICAN SCHOOL

LYONEL FEININGER (1871–1956).  
*Strasse in Treptow an Rega.* Woodcut.  
*Die Kleine Lokomotive.* Etching.  
Presented by Lord Croft.

LILIANA GRAMBERG (Contemporary). *Cathedral, Bridge II, Spanish Landscape.* Etchings. Purchased.

JAMES ABBOTT McNEILL WHISTLER (1834–1903). *Hangman's House, Tours.* Edward G.

Kennedy, *The Etched Work of Whistler*, p. 127, No. 376, State II. Bequeathed by Miss V. S. Wainwright.

#### II. BRITISH SCHOOL INCLUDING FOREIGN ARTISTS WORKING IN ENGLAND

GEORGE ARNALD, A.R.A. (1763–1841).  
*Chichester Cross 1925.* Black lead, with grey wash.

*Gainsborough Old Hall*. Black lead, with water-colour.

*Selby Abbey*. 1806. Black lead, with water-colour.

*Wakefield, the Market Place*. 1817. Black lead, with water-colour.

*Presented by Mrs. J. Vincenzi.*

PEARL BINDER (LADY ELWYN JONES) (b. 1904).

*Leek* (1967). Four-colour print. Artist's proof.

*Immigrants* (1960). One-colour print.

*Hongkong Harbour* (1965). Two-colour print. Artist's proof.

*Singapore* (1966). Three-colour print. Artist's proof.

*Reflections* (1967). Three-colour print.

*Mexico* (1966). Three-colour print. Artist's proof, worked on with crayon.

*Hongkong Market* (1964). Three-colour print.

Lithographs.

Purchased.

WILLIAM BLAKE (1757–1827). *Sketch of a seated Woman*, c. 1825. Geoffrey Keynes, *Pencil Drawings by William Blake*, 1927, No. 55. Pencil. Bequeathed by Miss Sybil Pye.

FRANCIS DODD (1874–1949). *Portrait of Campbell Dodgson*. Black chalk. Purchased from the H. L. Florence Fund.

JOHN DOWNMAN (1750–1824). An important collection of portrait drawings, and a highly interesting group of mainly English drawings by artists of the nineteenth century (see *B.M.Q.* xxxiii, nos. 1–2). Bequeathed by Dr. Eric George Millar.

ANTHONY GROSS (b. 1905). *The Slade, Plumstead*. Water-colour. Purchased from the H. L. Florence Fund.

WENCESLAU HOLLAR (1607–77). *The Sacrifice of Abraham*. Etching. Parthey 66. Purchased.

SIR CHARLES JOHN HOLMES (1868–1936). A copper plate with the etching, *View near Rotterdam*, mentioned on p. 142 of Holmes's autobiography *Self and Partners*.

A nude study (self-portrait) in red chalk, possibly connected with the painting *Andromeda* mentioned on p. 153 of *Self and Partners*.

*Presented by R. R. Holmes, Esq., and M. R. Holmes, Esq.*

OSKAR KOKOSCHKA (b. 1886).

Designs for seven scenes in Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Oberon*. Black lead and coloured chalks.

*Purchased with the help of the C. G. and S. L. Bernstein Trust Funds, and an anonymous donation.*

*Portrait of Webster Aitkin*. Blue chalk.

*Presented by Miss Rose M. Lambert.*

DIE TRÄUMENDEN KNABEN. Lyrical prose poem by Kokoschka written in 1907, with two black and white illustrations and eight colour lithographs. Published by the *Weiner Werkstätte*, 1908.

Artist's proof, MANN UND WEIB STEHEN from 'DER GEFESSELTE COLUMBUS', a series of twelve lithographs produced in 1913.

Artist's proof, DER MANN INS GRAB STEIGEND, lithograph from 'DER GEFESSELTE COLUMBUS'.

Seven proofs of lithographs from 'HIOB', a drama by Kokoschka first published in Leipzig in 1913.

*Presented by Lord Croft.*

MARCELLUS LAROON I (b. c. 1620). Farmyard Scene. Copy from an etching by Francis Place after an original drawing by Francis Barlow. Pen and brown ink on vellum. Signed and dated: *M. Laurens fec. AET. 75 1696. Presented by Lord Methuen, R.A., F.S.A.*

JOHN LINNELL (1792–1882).

Sketchbook containing some 60 landscape drawings. Mostly pencil, some pen and wash.

*Culver Cliff* 1815. Water-colour.  
Drawings connected with the *Eclipse*  
*Streatham Street* 1816. *Fields on the site*  
*of Gower Street and Bedford Square, 1808.*  
*Ruin in Wells Street, Rosemary Lane, 1815.*  
Purchased.

MALCOLM MILNE (1887–1954). *Sea Shells.*  
Pen and ink with water-colour. Presented  
by St. John Evers, Esq.

ALLAN RAMSAY (1713–84). *Study for a*  
*half-length male portrait.* Black and white  
chalk on blue paper. Purchased.

MICHAEL (ANGELO) ROOKER (1743–1801).  
*The Scene-Painter's Loft at the Theatre*  
*Royal, the Haymarket, c. 1785.* Water-  
colour. Purchased.

GEORGE SHERINGHAM (1884–1937). Forty-  
seven drawings and water-colours including  
a series of designs for decorative panels at  
Claridge's Hotel. Presented by the Shering-  
ham Art Trust.

STANLEY SPENCER (1892–1959). *The Mar-  
riage at Cana.* Lithograph, Trial Proof.  
Purchased.

WILLIAM TAUNTON (1809–98).  
*In the Woods at Bolton, July 23rd 1842.*  
Water-colour.

*At Trotshill, September 26th 1842.* Water-  
colour.

*On the Greta at Rokeby, August 1847.* Black  
lead.

*On the Greta at Rokeby, August 1847.* Water-  
colour.

*At Conway, October 7th 1853.* Black lead.  
*Slate Workings near Conway (?) 1853 (?)*.  
Black lead and water-colour.

*In Kensington Gardens, September 10th 1859.*  
Black lead.

*South Brent, Devon. September 1860.* Black  
lead.

'A recollection of one of D. Cox's drawings.'  
Water-colour. Undated.

*A Cornfield.* Water-colour over black lead.  
Undated.

*At Hampstead, October 1858.* Black lead.  
Presented by John Winstanley, Esq.

### III. DUTCH AND FLEMISH SCHOOLS

PIETER BAST (c. 1570–d. 1605). *View of*  
*Franeker.* Wurzbach 7; Hollstein 12.  
Engraving. Purchased through the National  
Art-Collections Fund from the Campbell  
Dodgson Fund.

JACOBUS GOLE (1660–1724). *Jacobus Bas-  
nage.* Wessely 43, State II. Presented by  
John Rowlands, Esq.

JOHAN BARTHOLD JONGKIND (1819–91).  
*Landscape [Route au Printemps: 'Le*  
*Mürier'].* Water-colour and body-colour  
over black chalk outlines. Bequeathed by  
M. César Mange de Hauke.

*Ter Verheffinge Van Zyne Doorluchtige Hoo-  
gheid . . . , Willem Carel Henrik Fries,  
Prinse Van Oranje En Nassau . . . , Tot  
Stadhouder van Holland en Westvries-  
land. . . . A broadside, dated 1747, com-  
prising engraving and letterpress, designed  
and engraved by Jan Caspar Philips,  
d. 1773.*

Presented by John Rowlands, Esq.

REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN (1606–  
69). *Portrait of Manasseh ben Israel,* Jewish  
author (1604–57). Etching. Hind 146a,  
I. Presented by Osbert H. Barnard, Esq.,  
through the National Art-Collections Fund.

VINCENT WILLEM VAN GOGH (1853–90).  
*La Crau from Montmajour.* Reed and fine  
pen with light- and dark-brown ink over  
black chalk. Bequeathed by M. César Mange  
de Hauke.

### IV. FRENCH SCHOOL

ANTOINE LOUIS BARYE (1796–1875). *Lion*  
*on the Prowl.* Water-colour and body-  
colour, heightened with gum arabic. Be-  
queathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

NICHOLAS BOUQUET (fl. 1752–73). *Four*

*drawings of figures in theatrical costume, including three for a piece with a Turkish theme.* Pen and grey wash over black chalk. Purchased from the H. L. Florence Fund.

PAUL CÉZANNE (1839–1906). *Guillaumin au Pendu*. Etching. Venturi 1159. Purchased from the H. L. Florence Fund.

JEAN BAPTISTE CAMILLE COROT (1796–1875). *Young Woman Reclining*. Black lead. Bequeathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

HONORÉ DAUMIER (1808–79). *Mountebank playing a Drum*. Pen and brown ink, water-colour, and body-colour over black chalk outlines. Bequeathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

HILAIRE GERMAIN EDGAR DEGAS (1834–1917).

*Girl with Field-Glasses*. Oil paint thinned with turpentine on pink paper.

*Dancers at Bar Practice*. Oil paint thinned with turpentine on green paper.

Bequeathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

EUGÈNE DELACROIX (1798–1863). *Studies of a seated Arab*. Black and red chalk and water-colour heightened with white on brown-grey paper. Bequeathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

PAUL GAUGIN (1848–1903). *Tahitian Heads*. Monotype, traced in black lead on the reverse along the contours to add relief on the recto. Bequeathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

JEAN LOUIS ANDRÉ THÉODORE GÉRICAULT (1791–1824). *The Coal Waggon*. Water-colour over black chalk outlines. Bequeathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

JEAN AUGUSTE DOMINIQUE INGRES (1780–1867). *Portrait of Monsieur Charles Hayard and His Daughter, Marguerite*. Black lead. Bequeathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

BERNARD PICART (1673–1733). *Hercules Bibax* (after an Antique gem). Red chalk. Presented by Mrs. David Lewis.

PIERRE PAUL PRUD'HON (1758–1823). *Nude Woman standing*. Black chalk, heightened with white on blue-grey paper, the sheet made up with strips at top and bottom. Bequeathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

PIERRE AUGUSTE RENOIR (1841–1919). *Nude Woman sitting drying her Foot*. Red chalk, heightened with white. Bequeathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

GEORGES PIERRE SEURAT (1859–91). *Landscape study for 'La Grande Jatte'*. Conté crayon.

*Figure study for 'La Grand Jatte'*. Conté crayon.

Bequeathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

HENRI MARIE RAYMOND DE TOULOUSE-LAUTREC (1864–1901). *Portrait of Marcelle Lender*. Black lead and black chalk. Bequeathed by M. César Mange de Hauke.

Attributed to ANTOINE WATTEAU. *An Italianate Landscape*. Red chalk. Presented by Madame Jean Claude Prost.

#### V. GERMAN SCHOOL

ERNST BARLACH (1870–1928). *Die Laternen*. Lithograph for the series *der Arme Vetter*. Purchased.

LOVIS CORINTH (1858–1925). *Judgment of Paris*. Etching, with drypoint, for the series *Antike Legenden*. Purchased.

MAX PECHSTEIN (1881–1955). *Fishermen sorting Nets*. Woodcut. Purchased.

DER BILDERMANN: STEINZEICHNUNGEN FÜR'S DEUTSCHE VOLK. Lithographs by Ernst Barlach, Lovis Corinth, August Gaul, Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Oskar Kokoschka, Käthe Kollwitz, Max Slevogt, and others. Published by Paul Cassirer, Berlin, 1916. Presented by Lord Croft.

#### VI. ITALIAN SCHOOL

CONSALVO CARELLI (1818–1900). *View of*

*Naples.* Water-colour. Purchased from the  
H. L. Florence Fund.

PIETRO BERRETINI DA CORTONA (1596–  
1669). *Christ appearing to St. Ignatius*. Pen

and ink and black chalk. Squared for enlargement. Sketch for the altarpiece in the Church of the Spirito Santo in Pistoia. Purchased.

## DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

*Acquisitions, July 1967 to June 1968*

Faience *shabti*-figure of Nesqedet son of Tasaenankh from 'Campbell's Tomb', Giza (66950, height 5½ in., Twenty-sixth Dynasty, c. 600 B.C.).

Glazed steatite scarab bearing the title and name 'the lady of the house Aamet' (67023, length ¾ in., Thirteenth Dynasty, c. 1700 B.C.); steatite scarab with the name and title 'the Mayor of Byblos, Re-Enty' (67024, length ⅔ in. Second Intermediate Period c. 1700 B.C.); glazed steatite scarab with the nam Y-keb (67025, length ⅔ in., Hyksos Period, c. 1650 B.C.).

Blue faience bead in the form of a lotus petal inscribed with the name of Amenophis III (67041, length 1 in., Eighteenth Dynasty, c. 1400 B.C.).

Dark blue faience duck amulet (67042, length ½ in., Eighteenth Dynasty, c. 1400 B.C.). Given by G. C. Marriott, Esq.

Bronze furniture fitment in the form of a lion's head (67043, height 3⅓ in., Twenty-sixth Dynasty, c. 650 B.C.).

Terracotta lamp inscribed on the base with the name Anapsyche (67044, length 3 in., Roman Period, 2nd–3rd centuries A.D.). Given by Miss Iris Parker.

Glazed steatite scarab with the names of King Sobkhotpe and his mother Nubhetep (67071, length ⅔ in., Thirteenth Dynasty, c. 1750 B.C.). Given by A. O. Hemus, Esq.

Faience *shabti*-figure of Ankhpefheru (67072, height 4⅔ in., Twenty-sixth Dynasty, c. 650 B.C.). Given by Professor C. S. Gadd.

Papyrus with magical text in the Egyptian language written mainly in Greek characters, from Oxyrhynchus (10808, height 11½ in., Roman Period, 2nd century A.D., edited by W. E. Crum in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxviii (1942), 20–31). Given by the Egypt Exploration Society.

Woollen carpet with border design of trees beneath arcades (67073, 6 ft. 8 in. by 4 ft. 8 in.) and fragments of a dark-blue rug of woven hair (?) with geometric design in yellow (67074) from the excavations of the X-Group Cemetery at Buhen (4th–6th centuries A.D.). Given by the Egypt Exploration Society.

Slate palette (67077, length 8½ in., Pre-dynastic Period, c. 3300 B.C.) bilingual wooden mummy label of Petetriphis (67078, length 4⅔ in., Roman Period, 2nd century A.D.) and an inscribed mummy bandage (10809, length 25½ in., Twenty-sixth Dynasty, c. 600 B.C.). Given by the Executors of the estate of the late M. W. Corder, Esq.

Upper part of a glazed steatite *shabti*-figure of Menmarepui (67079, height 2½ in., Nineteenth Dynasty, c. 1250 B.C.).

Limestone stela with demotic inscription (1834, height 11½ in., Roman Period, after 30 B.C.).

Variegated glass vessel in the shape of a pomegranate (67081, height 2⅔ in., Nineteenth Dynasty, c. 1250 B.C.).

## DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN ASIATIC ANTIQUITIES

*Selected Acquisitions, January to December 1967*

134903. Bronze bowl incised with hunting scenes and animal friezes. Phoenician. 7th century B.C.

134904. Bronze figurine of a horned male deity. Iranian. c. 7th century B.C.

134905. Part of a stone macehead with a dedicatory inscription of King Naram-Suen of Akkad. From Luristan.

134906-7. Incised bronze discs on bitumen cores. From Dailaman, NW. Iran. c. 7th century B.C.

134908. Bronze handle in the form of a goat-bird. NW. Iran. 8th century B.C.

134909. Footed glass goblet with raised decoration. Late Parthian or Early Sassanian. c. 3rd century A.D.

134910. Cut glass bowl with wheel patterns. Sassanian. c. 4th century A.D.

134911. Pair of bronze cymbals. Luristan. c. 7th century B.C.

134912. Sumerian administrative tablet. Ur III period.

134913. Bronze axehead inscribed with the name of Attahušu, governor of Elam. Probably from Susa. 18th century B.C.

134914. Inscribed haematite cylinder-seal. Old Babylonian period.

134918. Silver ingot inscribed in Aramaic, 'Belonging to Bar-rakib son of Panammu' (King of Sam'al, c. 730 B.C.).

134919. Clay bulla with three Sassanian stamp-seal impressions.

134920-1. Inscribed Sassanian stamp-seals.

134922. Bronze weight in the form of a seated bird. Hittite Old Kingdom.

134923. Glass goblet with raised decoration. Late Parthian or Early Sassanian. c. 3rd century A.D.

134925. Glass oval with inserted gold leaf. Sassanian. c. 4th century A.D.

134926. Bronze figurine of a female deity. Anatolian. c. 1200 B.C.

134927. Part of a bronze horse-bit in the form of a horse-riding deity. Iranian. c. 750 B.C.

134928. Inscribed glass cylinder-seal. Kassite period. *Presented*.

134929-35. Old Akkadian administrative tablets. *Presented*.

134941. Pair of bronze cymbals. N. Iran. c. 7th century B.C.

134942. Bronze belt buckle or ornament. N. Iran. c. 7th century B.C.

134943. Circular stamp-seal with geometric pattern. N. Iran. c. 2300 B.C.

134944. Bronze comb with incised decoration. N. Iran. 8th-7th century B.C.

134945-6. Two embossed and chased bronze plaques. Urartian. c. 7th century B.C.

134947. Terracotta head. Hittite Old Kingdom or Cappadocian. c. 1800 B.C.

134950. Clay whistle in the form of a seated animal-headed figure. Iranian. c. 8th century B.C. *Presented*.

134951. Bronze beaker incised with a frieze of birds of prey. Iranian. c. 8th century B.C.

134952. Cup in the form of a ram's head, silver on a bitumen core. Median style. c. 7th century B.C.

## DEPARTMENT OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

*Acquisitions, July 1967 to June 1968*

Fragment of a terracotta relief, made in Tarentum. 4th century B.C. Purchased. Reg. no. 1967, 7-27, 1.

Clay lamp from near Seville. Roman, 1st century A.D. Purchased. Reg. no. 1967, 7-28, 1.

Three bronze libation bowls with embossed and incised decoration. Greek, 6th century B.C. Purchased. Reg. nos. 1967, 12-14, 1 to 3.

Iron stylus with bronze inlay. Roman, 3rd or 4th century A.D. Purchased. Reg. no. 1968, 2-12, 1.

Clay drinking cup with floral decoration in black-figure. Laconian, about 550 B.C. Purchased. Reg. no. 1968, 2-13, 1.

Bronze lamp. Roman, 1st century A.D. Purchased. Reg. no. 1968, 5-1, 1.

One clay lamp and fragments of six others

from the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinus in Sicily. 6th century B.C. Given anonymously. Reg. nos. 1968, 5-18, 1 to 7. Silver cup, said to be from near Konya in Eastern Turkey. Hellenistic, about 50 B.C. Purchased. Reg. no. 1968, 6-25, 1.

Iron lifting device, found on the Appian Way near Rome. Possibly Roman. Given by Mr. M. B. Bracken. Reg. no. 1968, 6-25, 2.

Set of 36 bronze and steel surgical instruments; a bronze instrument case; a bronze medicament case; and a stone palette for preparing ointments. From Italy. Roman, 1st century A.D. Purchased. Reg. nos. 1968, 6-26, 1 to 39.

Bronze helmet with elaborate crest. Villanovan, 8th century B.C. Purchased with the aid of the Ready Bequest and the National Art Collections Fund. Reg. no. 1968, 6-27, 1.

## DEPARTMENT OF BRITISH AND MEDIEVAL ANTIQUITIES

*Acquisitions, July to December 1967*

### PREHISTORIC AND ROMANO-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES

Two three-faced stone heads from Greetland, near Halifax, Yorks. Probably early Celtic. Purchased. 1967, 10-5, 1-2.

Stone head from the Ribble Valley. Probably 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Purchased. 1967, 7-2, 1.

River Scheldt. Probably 6th-8th century. Purchased. 1967, 10-1, 1.

The collection of finds from excavations at a mid- to late-Saxon occupation site at Maxey, near Peterborough. Given by A. Crouson, Esq. 1967, 10-3, 1-37.

### EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES

c. A.D. 400-c. 1100

The Lullingstone bowl, a bronze hanging bowl of the 7th century. Given by Sir Oliver Hart Dyke. 1967, 10-4, 1.

An oak stem-post of a ship, dredged up in the

### EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES c. A.D. 1100-c. 1500

A bone pendant seal. Eastern Mediterranean. Probably 12th century. Given by Mrs. G. Gough. 1967, 12-2, 1.

Three glazed pottery dishes with sgraffito decoration. Byzantine, 12th century. Purchased. 1967, 12-7, 1-3.

Nine pieces of medieval gold jewellery found with coin hoard deposited 1463/4 at Fishpool, near Newstead Abbey, Nottinghamshire. Declared Treasure Trove and an ex gratia payment made to the finders. 1967, 12-8, 1-9.

A group of tools, iron and bone, and two fragments of painted glass, 15th-17th centuries. Given by Mrs. G. Rendall. 1967, 10-2, 1-8.

EUROPEAN ANTIQUITIES  
c. A.D. 1500-c. 1900

A lantern clock movement. Dutch or Flemish, about 1630. Given by P. G. Coole, Esq. 1967, 12-4, 1.

A saucer decorated with three sprays of prunus. Bow, about 1750. Given by Mr. and Mrs. F. Tilley. 1967, 7-1, 1.

A porcelain mug. English, probably Derby 1766. Purchased. 1967, 12-3, 1.

A long-case clock movement with painted dial, signed John Rose, Coventry. About 1800. Given by G. Planus, Esq. 1967, 12-5, 1.

An early 19th-century carnelian intaglio with heads of Neptune and Thetis. Given by A. Hirst, Esq. 1967, 10-2, 1.

A British Museum badge, 19th century. Given by Mrs. G. Rendall. 1967, 10-2, 9.

## DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES

Acquisitions, July 1967 to December 1967

### CHINA

Porcelain double-gourd shaped bottle decorated in underglaze blue. K'ang Hsi period (1662-1722). Ht. 6½ in. 1967, 7-15, 1. Given by Soame Jenyns, Esq.

Four fragments of white pottery from Anyang. 1400-1100 B.C. Shang dynasty. 1967, 7-17, 1-4. Given by Patrick Guimaraens, Esq.

Bronze ritual altar cup Ch'ien Lung period (1736-95). Ht. 7½ in. 1967, 7-25, 1. Bequeathed by Mrs. Elizabeth Fuhrhop.

Cloisonné enamelled square dish. 6½ in. square. Mark of the period of Ch'ing T'ai (1450-7) but 17th century. 1967, 7-25, 2. Bequeathed by Mrs. Elizabeth Fuhrhop.

Bronze mirror decorated with grapes and lions in imitation of a T'ang original. Ming dynasty (1368-1643). 1967, 7-25, 3. Bequeathed by Mrs. Elizabeth Fuhrhop.

Nine popular colour woodblock prints of incidents in the Boxer Rebellion. A.D.

1900-1. 1967, 10-16, 04(19). Given by E. S. A. Mathie, Esq.

Four popular lithographs of incidents in the Boxer Rebellion. A.D. 1900-1. 1967, 10-16, 05(1-4). Given by E. S. A. Mathie, Esq.

Four gentlemen. Hanging painting on paper, dated 1657 by Hsiang Sheng-mo. 1967, 10-16, 06. Brooke Sewell Bequest.

Pear-shaped porcelain bottle decorated in underglaze blue. 14th century A.D. Ht. 10¾ in. 1967, 10-19, 1. Given by Basil Gray, Esq.

Boy playing with a toy. Hanging painting on paper, by Ch'en Hung-shou (1598-1652). 1967, 12-11, 04. Brooke Sewell Bequest.

Porcelain wine cup with white crackled glaze. 7th century A.D. Ht. 3½ in. d. 4¾ in. 1967, 12-12, 1. Given by Sir Alan and Lady Barlow.

Stoneware dish covered with thick brownish-black glaze. T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-906). D. 9¾ in. 1967, 12-12, 2. Given by Sir Alan and Lady Barlow.

Stoneware cupstand covered in an opalescent whitish-blue glaze. Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1280). Ht. 2½ in., d. 5½ in. 1967, 12-12, 4. *Given by Sir Alan and Lady Barlow.*

Porcellaneous stoneware jar glazed with an olive-green celadon glaze spotted with iron brown. Yuan dynasty (A.D. 1280-1368). H. 2½ in. d. 3½ in. 1967, 12-12, 5. *Given by Sir Alan and Lady Barlow.*

Stoneware jar covered with a white glaze. Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1280). Ht. 5½ in., d. 6½ in. 1967, 12-12, 3. *Given by Sir Alan and Lady Barlow.*

Soapstone screen on a stand, carved with figures of the eight sages. 18th century: Ch'ing dynasty. Ht. 6 in., w. 4½ in. 1967, 12-16, 1. *Given by W. C. Walshe, Esq.*

Bronze socketed axe. Said to have been excavated at Shaohsing, Chekiang. 8th-5th century B.C. Chou dynasty. W. 3½ in. 1967, 12-16, 3. *Given by W. C. Walshe, Esq.*

Bronze spearhead of Siberian type, said to have been excavated at Shaohsing, Chekiang. 7th-3rd century B.C. Chou dynasty. 1967, 12-16, 2. *Given by W. C. Walshe, Esq.*

Bronze adze. Said to have been excavated at Shaohsing, Chekiang. 9th century B.C. Chou dynasty. W. 1½ in. 1967, 12-16, 4. *Given by W. C. Walshe, Esq.*

Half-worked stone celt. Date doubtful. L. 3½ in. 1967, 12-16, 5. *Given by W. C. Walshe, Esq.*

#### JAPAN

Maruyama Ōkyō; handscroll in colours on paper of 16 views of Kyōto. Each view approx. 18×12 in. Signed and dated 1773. 1967, 10. 16. 01.

Hokkei (1780-1850); landscape woodcut from the series 'Shōkoku Meisho'. 1967, 10. 16. 02.

Bunsei; landscape woodcut. About 1840. 1967, 10. 16. 03.

Toyokuni; woodcut print of the actor Han-shirō IV as a woman, 1794. 1967, 12. 11. 01.

Kunihisa; woodcut of an actor as a ghost.

About 1804. 1967, 12. 11. 02.

Hiroshige; landscape woodcut from the series 'Kanazawa Hakkei'. About 1832. 1967, 12. 11. 03.

#### KOREA

Gilt bronze lotus-headed pin from a Buddhist figure. 8th-9th century A.D. Silla dynasty. L. 8½ in. 1967, 7-26, 1.

#### INDIA

Limestone standing figure of Vidyadevi. Western India. About A.D. 950. 1967, 7-14, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Granite figure of Siva as Bhairava. South India. Cola: 11th century A.D. 1967, 10-16, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Bronze figure of Siva as Bhairava. Deccan. Hoysala: about A.D. 1300. 1967, 10-17, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Three copper-plate grants of the Paramara rulers Yasovarmadeva, Jayavarmadeva and Lakshmivarmadeva. Malwa. A.D. 1136 and 1144. 1967, 10-18, 1-3. *Deposited on indefinite loan by the Royal Asiatic Society, London.*

Ananta-Vasudeva Temple inscription in stone. Orissa: Bhuvanesvar. A.D. 1278. 1967, 10-18, 4. *Deposited on indefinite loan by the Royal Asiatic Society, London.*

Bronze figure of Vishnu enthroned. South India: Kongunadu. About A.D. 950. 1967, 12-15, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

Taxila copper plate of Patika. 1st century B.C. or A.D. 1967, 10-18, 5. *Deposited on indefinite loan by the Royal Asiatic Society, London.*

Bronze figure of Siva as Arjuna. Southern Deccan. About A.D. 900. 1967, 7-27, 1. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

#### NEPAL

Gilt copper seated figure of the Bodhisattva

Maitreya. Nepal. 9th-10th century A.D.  
1967, 7-13, I. *Brooke Sewell Fund.*

ISLAMIC

Steel mirror with gold inlay and engravings.  
Inscribed in the name of Nasir ud-Din  
Shah. Persia. About 1850. Ht. 23 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. 1967,  
7-18, I.

Bronze circular covered box engraved with  
signs of the Zodiac and Arabic inscriptions.

Persia. 13th century. Ht. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  in., d. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
1967, 7-24, I. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

Pottery bowl, 'slip' painted with Kufic in-  
scription in black and red. Persia (Nishapur).  
9th-10th century A.D. 1967, 12-13, I.  
*Brooke Sewell Bequest.*

Bronze dish with octagonal rim and engraved  
decoration on inside. Persia. Late 12th-  
early 13th century A.D. D. 21 in. 1967,  
12-14, I. *Brooke Sewell Bequest.*







Bérlet

(Pesti magyar színház.)

Szombaton, Január 4-kén, 1840.

szűnés.

A nézőhely teljes kivilágítása mellett.

LISZT F. úr

művész hazánk' fíjának

HANGVERSENY-e

a pesti magyar színház' javára.

TARGYAI:

1-ső ANDANTE FINALE, „LUCIA di LAMMERMOOR“ című operából,  
előadja LISZT F. tr.

2-ik GALOP CROMATIQUE, előadja LISZT F. úr.

LISZT F. úr, művész, hazánk' fia, 'e mai hangverseny' egész jövedelmével, a színházi  
péntárnak kedveskedik.

Extimogeléxi:

A KÉNYTELEN KIRÁLY.

Vigyiék 2 felvonásban. Franciaiból fordította Tóth Lérincz, a magyar tudós-társaság költségén.

Szereplők:

Városi Herrik, saját herceg, lengyel király -  
Vilmosz marquise -  
Ceylus, grif -  
Nagie, grif -  
Koromvily, habsburg -  
Almanzor, kanonok -

Egressy Gábor w.

Bartka sr.

László w.

Károlyi Mihály w.

Szilágyi w.

Fányek w.

Laski Albert ( ) lengyel herceg

Leopoldsky -

Levinovics Alfréd, grif -

Miski, rablónyi László -

László ( ) francia nemesek

Klouf -

Banffy Péter w.  
Balog sr.  
Lakatosi Róza k. a.  
Komlósy Ida k. a.  
Szabó sr.  
Csereghi sr.

Páholy, földműves és elnök emeletben -  
Páholy, a' második emeletben -  
Zárdai Rózsi földszint -  
Földszinti bemenet -

10 fl. — kr.

8 fl. — kr.

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• Második emeleti zártszék

• Második emeleti bemenet

• Karzat —

1 fl. 20 kr.

fl. 40 kr.

fl. 20 kr.

Semmiéle szabad jegyek nem használhatók.

Kezdete 7-tedfélkor, vége 9-kor.

SCHODELNÉ assz. ERKEL J., MEGYERY és UDVARHELYI urak, szabadsággal elutaszták.

Alelnökké van nevezése, s' magas szamponigék, os. h. katonasságuk és  
dicsőségi méltó hatalmaguk indítja őket, hogy sejje, Lampi M., polgári arany-  
küzdelmi segítségeséig ítételek átigye. Kegye megkeresztüli, melyhez működő  
ellenőrzést, mindei lelátottához azaz hisztóriához, hogy minden működés-  
hez megbízható, de illi áron megfigyelni s' i. os. kihangsúlyozni a legyártásban  
szereplők. A' magyár diktátus kihangsúlyoz.

Leitach Ferencz,  
arany- és tiszavarrásból  
barmi alkalmában, Herrik bátor, 3-ös részben, 3-ik modulban,

Vagyaz Jánosz műkörökben vissza megijelzi a földszinti: LARZT  
PERIODIKUS JÁRÖLÍTŐT megkölcsönözheti (Parlamentkörrel eddig rövidek)  
30 pengy körjel.

KÉP: Dr. Sator N. Egger-Selből (a Lindle im Kremer-Szobor „János Robert“)

Licitation. Es werden in der grünen Baum-Gasse, in von Jäcklein's  
Sohn Hause, sofern Stoff, und die erste Theile verschiedne politische Medaillen; dann  
Werner- und Franz Meister, sowie Wölfer, Vörcsöl, Ráthén, Gödöör, Specie-  
nau mehrere andere Hand-Gedächtnissblätter, entlich viele Bücher aus verschiednen  
Autoren und der Heraus- und Herausgeber des Herrn Andross von Palosz Tabular Liberatorum  
aus dem Jahre 1840, gleich von 9—12, und Nachmittag von 2—5 Uhr den Weiß-  
bischöfchen gegen gleich hohe Bezahlung veräußert werden.

42° Morgen werden sich die Schreiber Name-Schäger im Teatro-Restaurant bei  
National-Kaffee ja produzieren die Ehre haben.

43° Sonaten des 5-ten János Fischer in den Rebatentes-Sälen euse maßfali-  
che Nachmittags-Conservatorium Hall.

Emmerling.

XXXV. PLAYBILL OF A CONCERT GIVEN BY FERENC LISZT IN THE  
NEMZETI SZÍNHÁZ in Pest, 4 January 1840

# Személyes leírása

a z e n

gönösztevőknek, kik részint **Milfait Ferentz** rabló gonoztetteinek részesei valának, részint társaságában megfordultak, — Milfaitnek, ki Rögtön törvény mellett Veszprém Vármegyében Dec. 24kén 1836 kötel által kivégeztetett, tulajdon előadása szerint:

**S**obri Jósi mintegy 27 esztendős, magas sudár termelő, völgyben és tsipuben széles, lassan asszonyos különben barnás képű, fekete nyirett hajú, kifelé álló kis fekete bajuszú, fekete szemű, Vas Vármegyében nevelkedett.

Pista nevű Desztertor, Torna Vármegyei, mintegy 24 esztendős, magas nyulank termelő, hasonló Sobrihez, gömbölyű barna tiszta ábrázatú fekete nyirett hajú, piczin fekete bajuszú, kékes szemű.

Kiss Jánosi (miskent Fümag, és Karaiábi Jánosi) Zala Vármegyei, Vass Vármegyében Bögöte és Keléd körül nevelődött, mintegy 28 esztendős, kissé gyenge alakotású, szeg színű lassata képű, fekete befonott hajú, most is csak mozdító forma bajuszú, barna szemű, igen jó lővő, 's felettes bátor, sót vannker.

Jósi nevű Desztertor (isuf ujven Teknöhájú) Somogy Vármegyei, mintegy 25 esztendős, közép erős termelő, gömbölyű kövér szeg színű ábrázatú, nyirett szeg színű hajú, kis pérge bajuszú, kékes szemű, taendes beszédi.

Pep Andor Győr Vármegyei Fópáti születés, közel 50 esztendős, közép erős vasnos termelő, kövér kerek széplős nagy szokás képű, vékony sárgás befonott hajú, hosszú sudaras vörös bajuszú, miskája szemp, jobbk lábra hibás lépésű, ha rezeg garázda természeti.

Peti Miska Péreztagi Vass Vármegyei születés, mintegy 36 esztendős, magassas köpítő erős termelő, barna tiszta tsontos képű, nyirett fekete gondör hajú, jokora sudaras barna bajuszú, kékes szemű, szolgálatja helyéről Pintüs felverés miatt ugrott el.

Rigátsai Töliesen talált Zala Vármegyei szükevények közül egygyik Miska nevű, szelőtől Szegedről elhajtott Birkák miatt megszűkölt, mintegy 23 esztendős, magas vékony termelő, barna tiszta ábrázatú, fekete befonott hajú, hajós szemű — minikat eittől tudja, hogy Zalai volt. — Harmadikról szintén attól hallotta, hogy Rigáts tájkáról való, 's felséges.

Nagy Jánosi Zala Vármegyei születés, szomban legutolsón Szanyban szolgált, honnét az Egyedről elhajtott Birkák miatt megszűkölt, mintegy 23 esztendős, magas vékony termelő, széke kövér kerek tiszta képű, széke befonott hajú bátor beszédi, józan asszies természete.

Fekete Jósi Vass Vármegyebe való, mintegy 24 esztendős, közép köpítő erős termelő, fekete ritka himlöhelyes képű, hosszú befonott hajú, fekete szemű, lassu beszédi.

Sádám Desztertor Mosony Vármegyeinek voltotta magát, mintegy 33 esztendős, nyulánk vékony termelő, fejér himlöhelyes képű, nyirett szegazinú hajú, pérge szegazinú bajuszú, kékes piczin szemű, furcsa Csallóközies beszédi.

Kiss Jánosi Desztertor Veszprém Város tájkárba való, lehet 33 esztendős, közép termelő hosszúkás sovány barna képű, nyirett szegazinú hajú, sudaras katondrásban felpederilett bajuszú, barna szemű, sebes járásu és beszédi.

Gyuri nevű legény Mező Sz. György körül szolgált, utolján Fejér Vármegyében, mintegy 23 esztendős, közép erős vállas köpítő termelő, kerek széke tiszta ábrázatú, ennek egygyik felén egy kelésnek most is látszik helyével, széke befonott hajú, kis mozdító bajuszú mellély kikenye visel, széke nagy szemű, nagyon káromkodó, gerázdaságra könnyen hajlandó — Hunkár Táblabiró Urat is különösen ez örötte meg.

# Nemzeti dal.

Talpra, magyar, hír a' haza !  
Itt az idő, most vagy soha!  
Rabok legyünk vagy szabadok ?  
Ez a' kérdés, válaszszatok! —  
A' magyarok istenére  
Esküszünk,  
Esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább  
Nem leszünk.

Rabok voltunk mostanaig,  
Kárhozottak ősapáink,  
Kik szabadon éltek haltak,  
Szolgaföldben nem nyughatnak.  
A' magyarok istenére  
Esküszünk,  
Esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább  
Nem leszünk.

Sehonnai bitang ember,  
Ki most, ha kell, halni nem mer,  
Kinek drágább rongy élete,  
Mint a' haza becsülete.  
A' magyarok istenére  
Esküszünk,  
Esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább  
Nem leszünk.

# Nemzeti dal.

Hung. 1. f. 3 (1)

Talpra, magyar, hí a' haza!  
Itt az idő, most vagy soha!  
Rabok legyünk vagy szabadok?  
Ez a kérdés, válaszszatok! —  
A' magyarok istenére  
Esküszünk,  
Esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább  
Nem leszünk.

Rabok voltunk mostanáig,  
Kárhozottak ősapáink,  
Kik szabadon éltek haltak,  
Szolgaföldben nem nyughatnak  
A' magyarok istenére  
Esküszünk,  
Esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább  
Nem leszünk.

Sehonnai bitang ember,  
Ki most, ha kell, halni nem mer,  
Kinek drágább rongy élete,  
Mint a haza becsülete.  
A' magyarok istenére  
Esküszünk.  
Esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább  
Nem leszünk.

Fényesebb a' láncznál a' kard,  
Jobban ékesít a' kart,  
És mi mégis lánczot hordtunk!  
Ide veled, régi kardunk!  
A' magyarok istenére  
Esküszünk,  
Esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább  
Nem leszünk.

A' magyar név megint szép lesz,  
Méltó régi nagy hiréhez,  
Mit rá kentek a' századok,  
Lemossuk a' gyalázatot.  
A' magyarok istenére  
Esküszünk,  
Esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább  
Nem leszünk.

Hol sírjaink domborulnak,  
Unokáink leborúlnak,  
És áldó imádság mellett  
Mondják el szent neveinket.  
A' magyarok istenére  
Esküszünk,  
Esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább  
Nem leszünk.

**Petőfi Sándor.**

A magyar szabad sajtó első nyomtatványa Pápán. />—>

# Pesti magyar színház.

Augustus' 22. 1837.

## ÁRPÁD ÉBREDESE

Előjáték a' magyar színház megnyitásá' ünnepére. Vörösmarty-tól.

Árpád	Lendvay ur.	Napázmás	Telepi ur.
Sírszellem	László ur.	Apa	Údvárbeli Mikl. ur.
Kötő.	Egressy Gábor ar.	Vid.	Telepi Mál.
Neklevensz	Lendvayné assz.	Óreg	Bartók ur.
Első hígy	Deérné assz.	Irigyág	Szigligeti ur.
Második hígy	Lakerfáli Róza.	Csák	Hetényi ur.
	Barthélém assz.	Rónavölgyes	Huhelyi ur.
Hígyek	Egressyné assz.	Rágatom	Kovácsné assz.
	Szentpéteryné assz.	Gúny	Fáney ur.
	Szathmáry Carolina.	Kajánsg	Egressy Benj. ur.
Kisú lója	Szederhelyi ur.	Megrelás	Hári ur.
Iják	Melnič ur.	Ehalkál	Sallagi ur.
	Daragi ur.		

Ext. követ:

## B E L I Z Á R.

Szomornjáték 5 Felvonásban. Schenk Eduard műskája. Fordította Kiss János

### Nemélyek.

Jusztinián, kuletrámi császár.	Borspátpéteri ur.	Római centurik	Szigligeti ur.
Bellázár, fü hadvezér.	Megyeri ur.		Egrossi Bonján. ur.
Leó	Bertha ur.		Údvárbeli S. ur.
Nicanor	Udvárbeli ur.	Antonina, Bellázár urja.	Lakerfáli Róza.
Rufus	Páncsy ur.	Irene, Irénia	Lendvayné assz.
Eutrop, fő kamara	Sallagi ur.	Zsófia	Barthélém assz.
Oktár, alsók vezére	Hétbőyi ur.	Endra	Szathmáry Karolina.
Alamir, ifjú vandál, Bellázár fágyija	Egressy Gábor ur.	Bizáncai polgárok	Hári ur.
Támadásról	Somogyi ur.		Daragi ur.
Földműves	Telepi ur.	Marcella	Melnič ur.
Bizánci polgárok és hígyek.	Római vitézek.	Cosmarai összegy. — Tábori használok.	
		— Faludszerek. — Faludszerek.	

Történet helye Bizánc és Írország. — Történet ideje: kereszteny szaknális szerint a VI. század körülfele.

A' dicsőmányeket festette. Nefje ur a' pesti nemet színész" festje. — A' magyar színház ábrázolását, valamint Pest' dicsőmányait festette. Otto ur a' pesti magyar színház festje. — A' gyerekek köszöntője Szilasi ur a' műterem kör. színház" gyerekek műterem.

Az előbbiek közöttöke köszönti Adám ur, színház műterem a' pesti polgár.

Az egrisi rövidített megtállítása nem esett ellett „Thalia dicsőmány az előtérbenként" ezen alkalmára Lisztvártól Helióhely János ur a' pesti magyar színház hangszeri karmesterével, vagy ezen alkalmára készült "a' elő fő adat", Nemzeti ország hangszer a' pesti magyar színház" megtállításának emlékezésre szentelt kiadásáig.

A' előjáték és Bellázár költött egy magyar bárex lesz, betanítva Szalánky urral, műszakiája Rónavölgyiijel. — A' magyar elszá-

nak köszöntötte köszöntötte körüljáró Venczel ur színház műterem a' pesti polgár.

### Bemeneti ár peng. pénzben.

Földszinti & középpályai 5 frt. — Második emeleti pirosboly 4 frt. — Rövid emeleti zártszék 1 frt. 30 kr. — Földszinti zártszék 1 frt. — Második emeleti zártszék 54 kr. — Földszinti hivatal 48 kr. — Második emeleti hivatal 40 kr. — Károli hivatal 10 kr.

Kik az igazgató arival feljegyzetetek, neveket, a' pénzügyi vállalkozás 14 hétig járványt a' megtállító napján díjellemre esetben nyílnak. — A' polgárok és színészök" tiszta beréle ut felelősszerű díjellem 11 orszáj járványt. megtállítja a' libelleit helyetek.

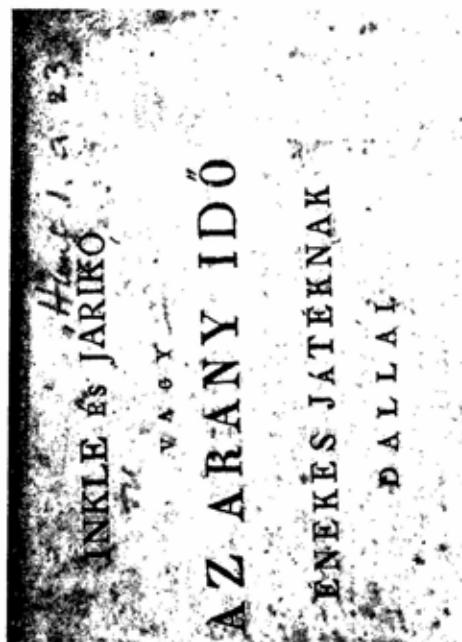
**Kezdete hetedfél órakor, vége 10-kor.**

Mellékletek (25. oldal). Dr. Christen jánosról az országig rendelt hatalom. Wankó Péterről és köröny Ár. jelemeiből.

Print by C. Müller, Pest.

XXXIX. PLAYBILL FOR THE OPENING PERFORMANCE OF THE  
NEMZETI SZÍNHÁZ in Pest, 22 August 1837





a TITLE PAGE OF AN EDITION OF SONGS  
from *Inkle and Yarico*, Pest, [1808?]

Ms:Waltherr László



b THE BOOK-PLATE OF  
LÁSZLÓ WALATHERR

PESTEN,  
nyomtatott Trautner Mátás, betűvel.

HISTORIA ET  
VITA DI SANTO  
BERNARDINO.



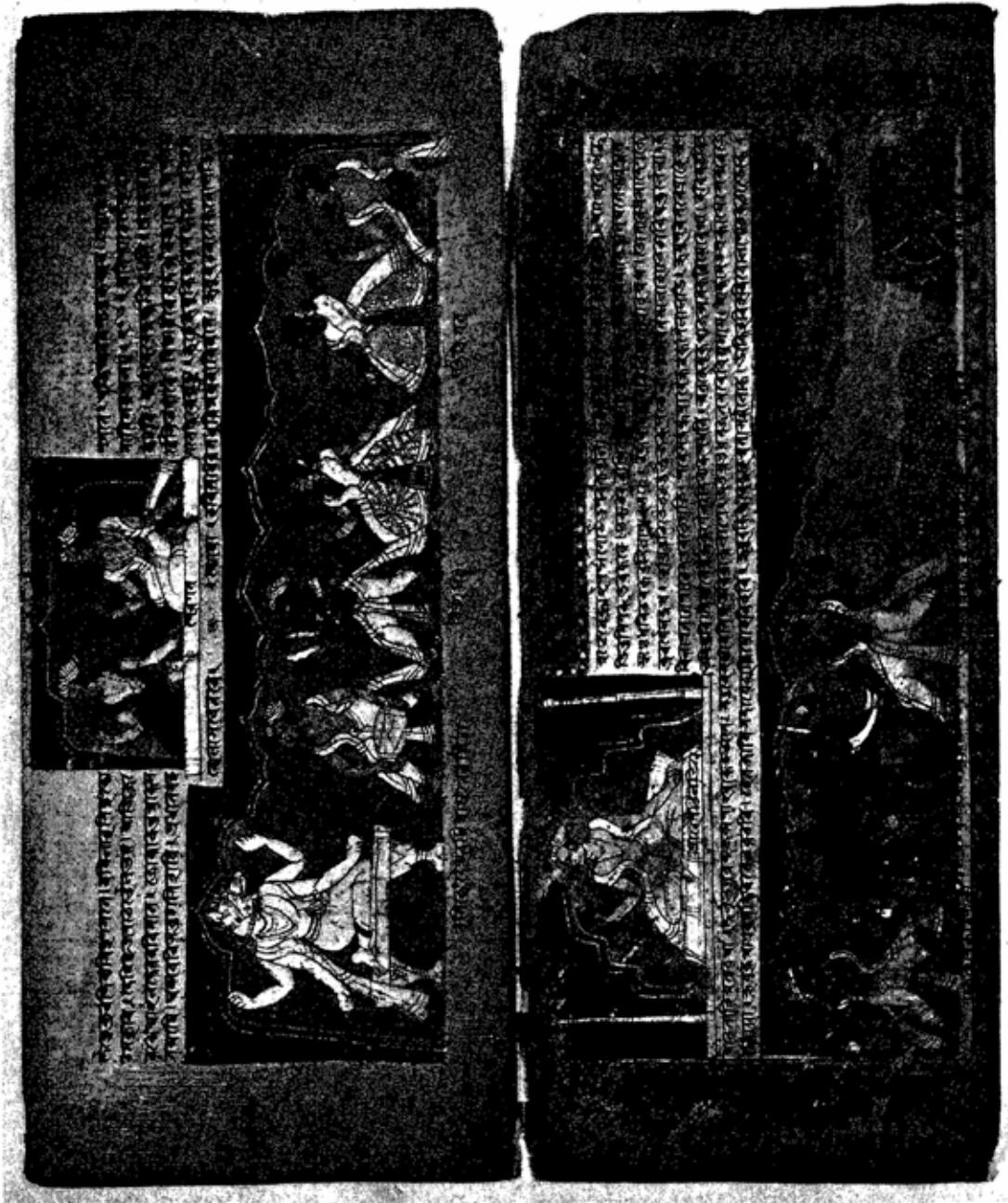
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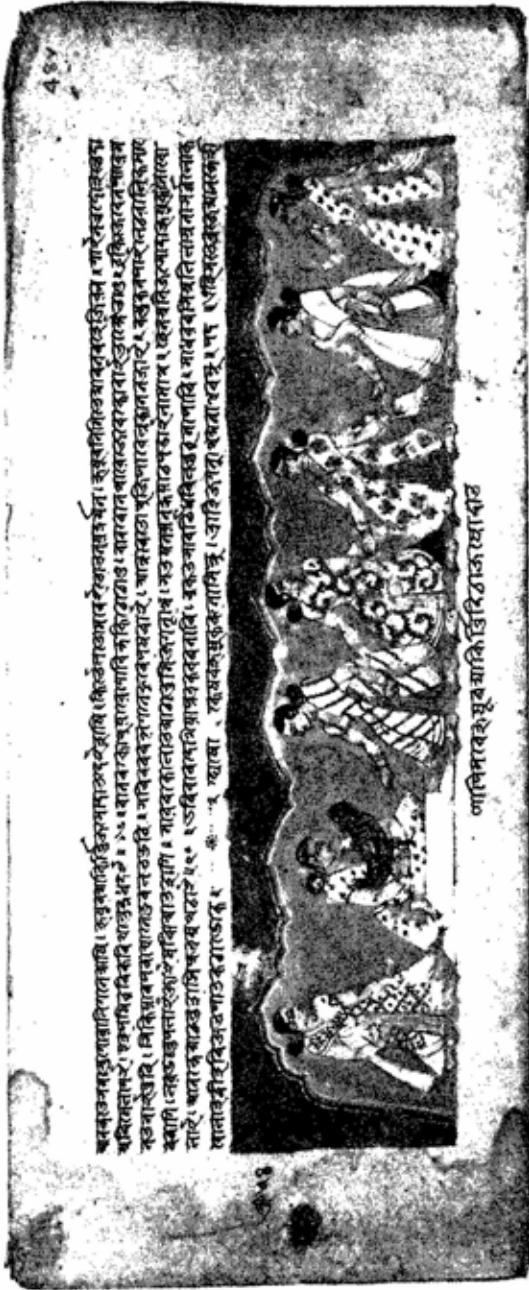


XLIII. *HISTORIA DI S. BERNARDINO*  
(Woodcut on f. 2, verso)

XLIV. (a) MUSICIANS AND DANCERS IN THE PRESENCE OF NRŚIMHA, THE MAN-LION INCARNATION OF VIŚNU. From the story of Prahlāda. OR. 13086 Assamese MS., f. 25<sup>v</sup>

(b) GAJENDRA, THE ELEPHANT, IS SAVED BY TIMELY PRAYER TO HARI (VIŚNU) FROM THE ATTACKS OF THE CROCODILE. From the Gajendropakhyāna. OR. 13086 Assamese MS., f. 33<sup>r</sup>

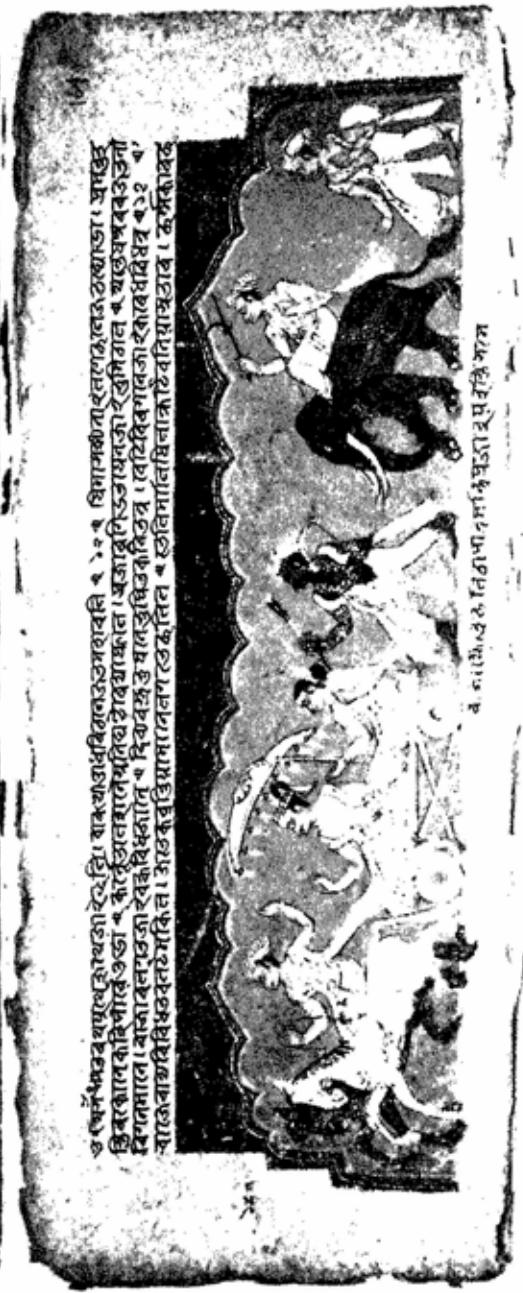
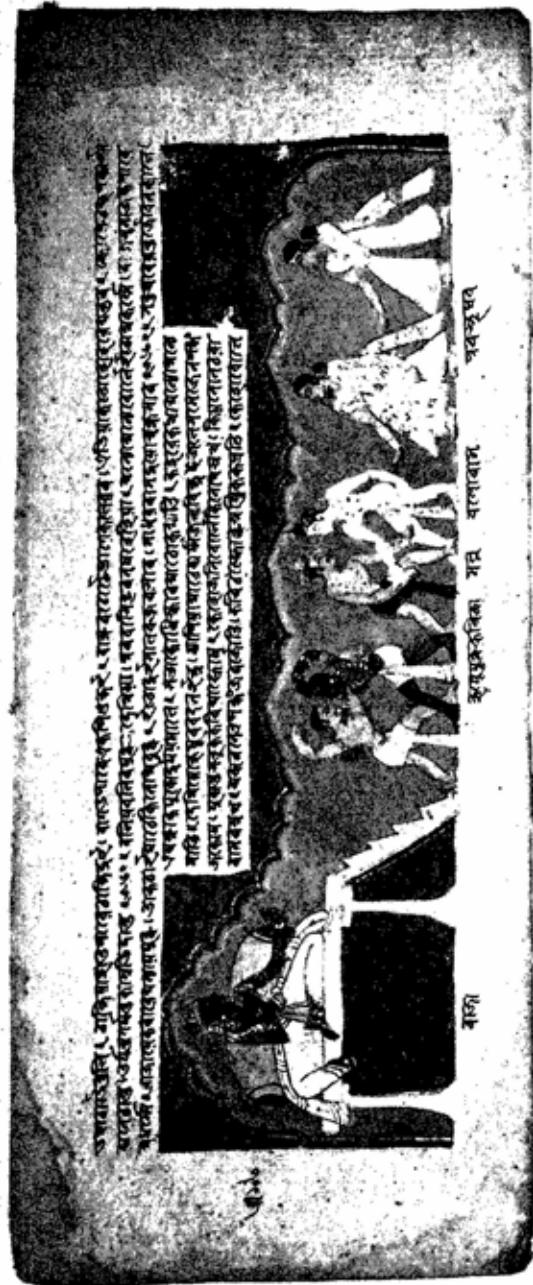




XLV. (a) PROCESSION OF WOMEN COMING TO GREET THE CHILD KRŚNA AND HIS MOTHER. From the Sisilīlī, episodes from Krśna's childhood. OR. 13086 Assamese MS., f. 48<sup>v</sup>

CHI

(b) KRŚNA'S RING DANCE WITH THE GOPIS, FOR EACH MILKMAID, KRŚNA PROVIDED A REPLICA OF HIMSELF. From the Rākṣakīda. OR. 15086 Assamese MSS. f. 75v



XLVI. (a) WRESTLERS. From the Kāpsavādha, the story of how Kṛṣṇa overcame Kāṇṭsa, the tyrannical king of Mathurā. OR.  
 13086 Assamese MS., f. 95<sup>v</sup>

(b) A ROYAL PROCESSION. From the Uṛṣṭi-varṇana, an appendix to the Kirtana-ghoṣa, in which the establishment of temples in Orissa by King Indravarma is recounted. OR. 13086 Assamese MS., f. 164<sup>v</sup>

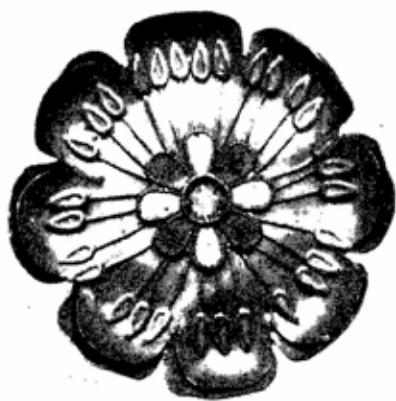
*a*



*b*



*c*



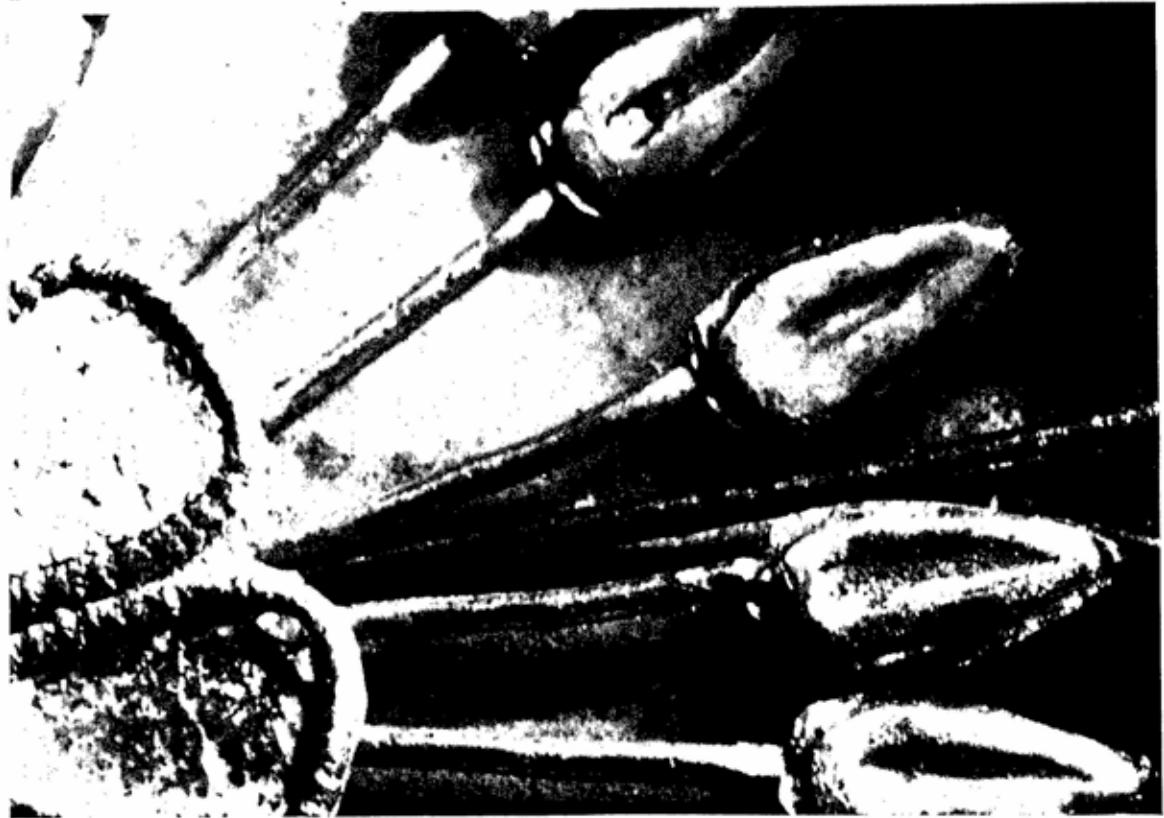
*d*



XVLVII. FOUR GREEK ROSETTES



a



b

XLVIII. GREEK ROSETTES, detail



a



b



c



d

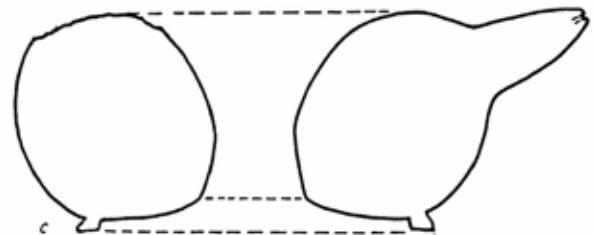
XLIX. GREEK ROSETTES, comparative material



a



b

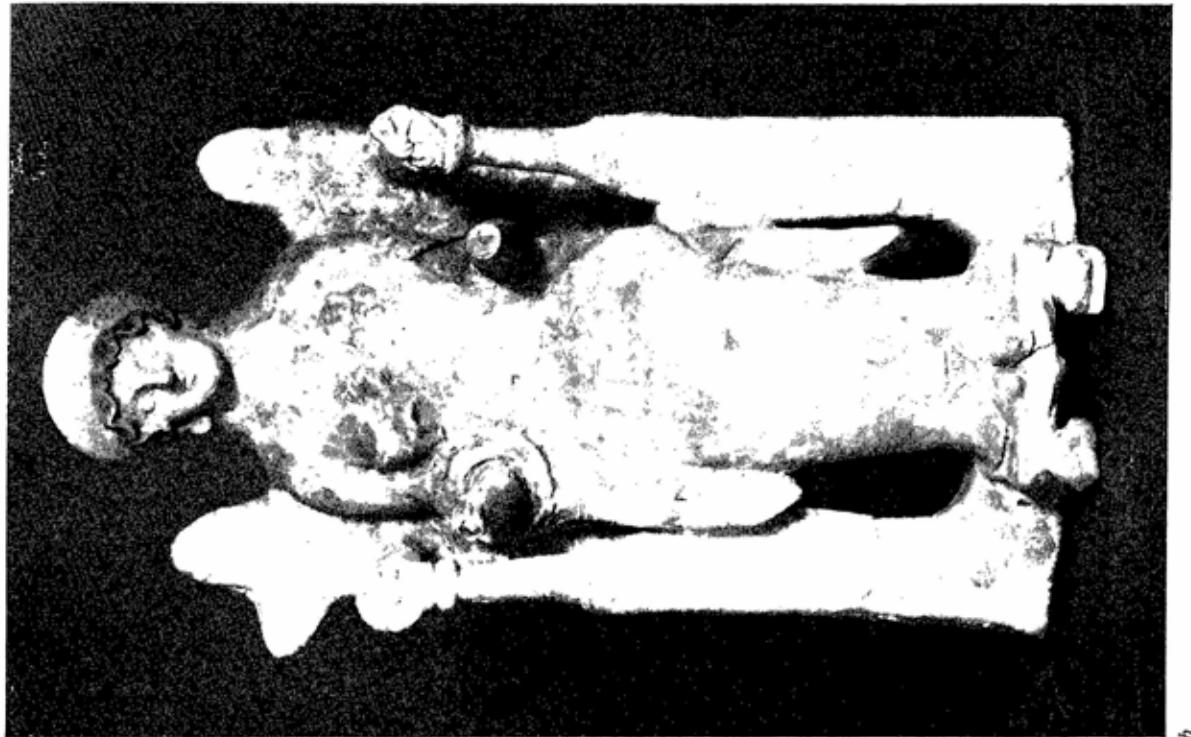


c

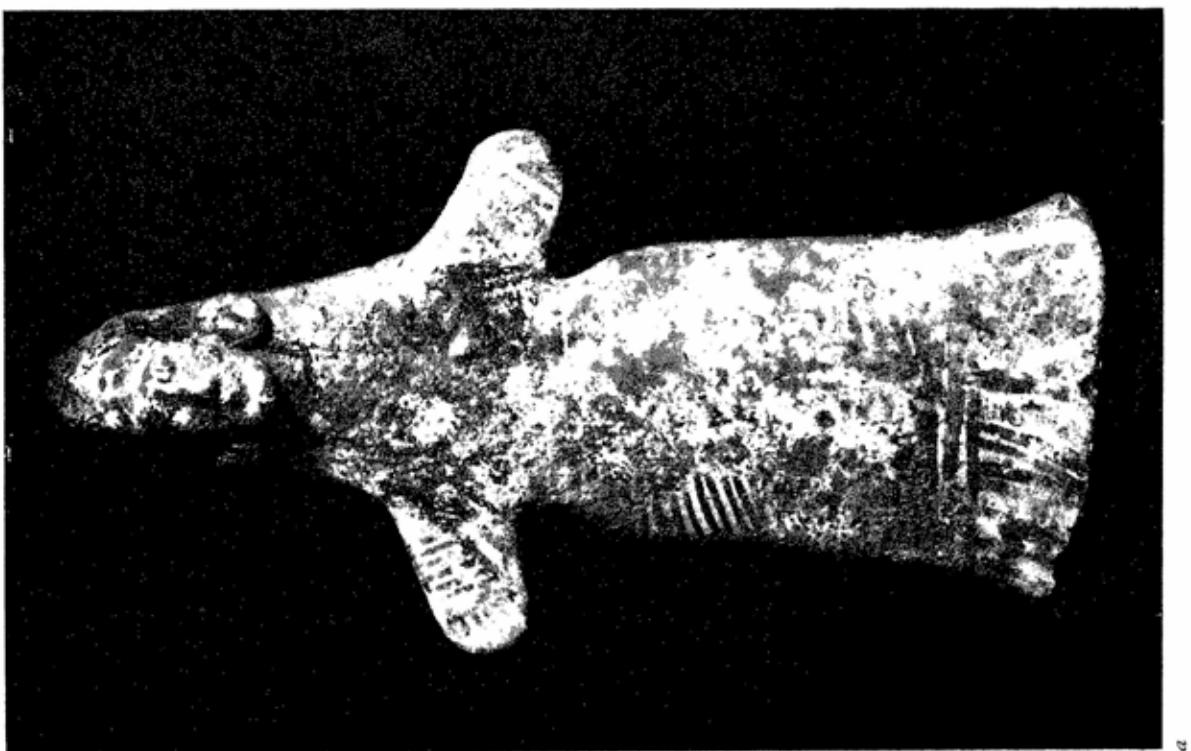
L. A REHABILITATED FORGERY

L.I. GREEK TERRACOTTAS

b



a

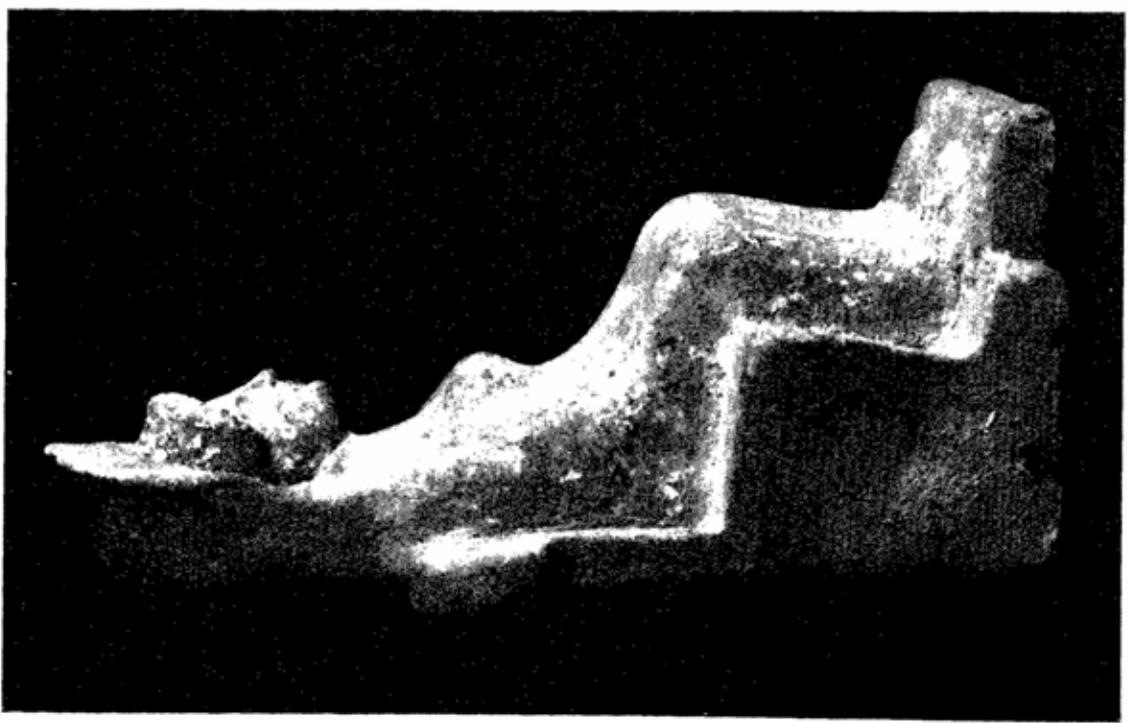


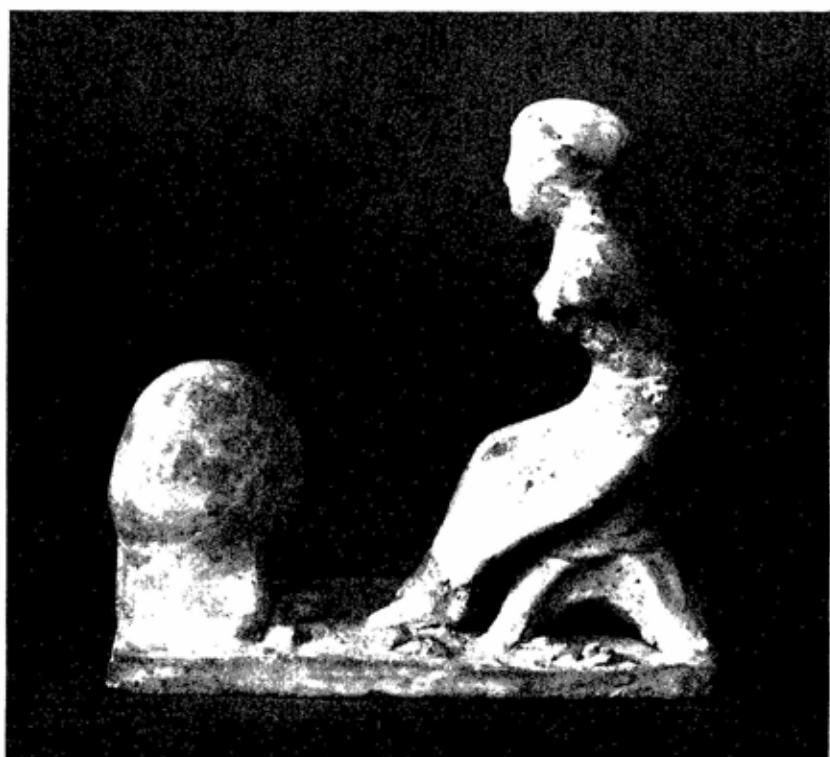
LII. GREEK TERRACOTTA FIGURE

*b*

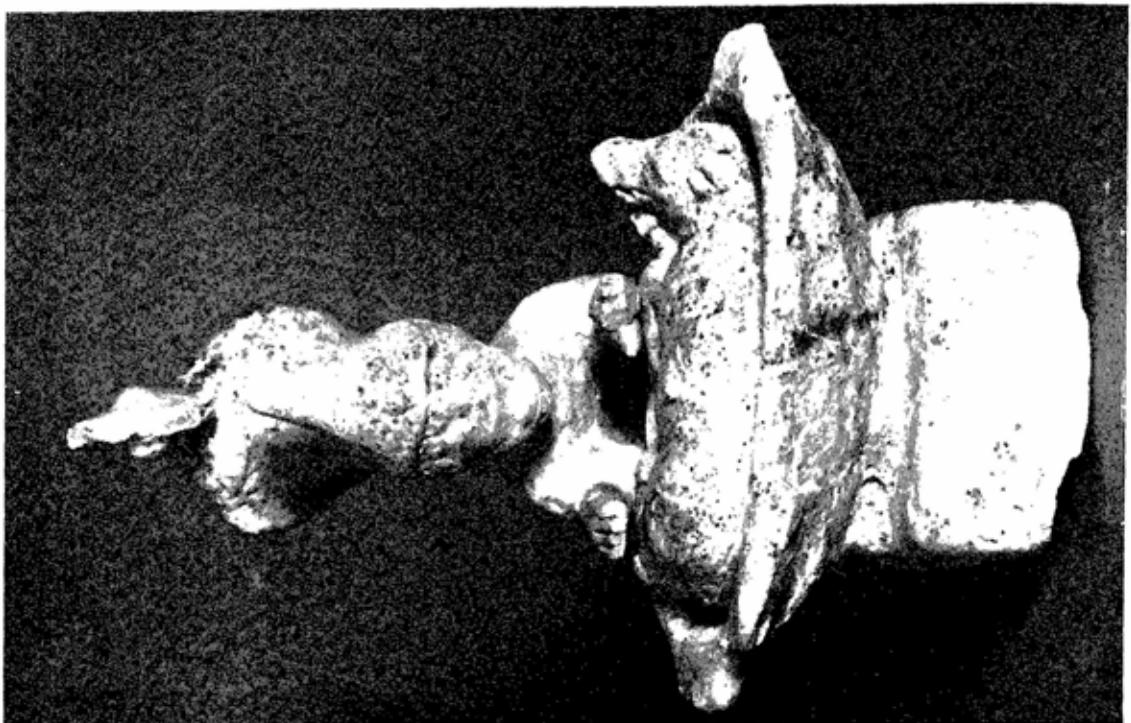


*a*

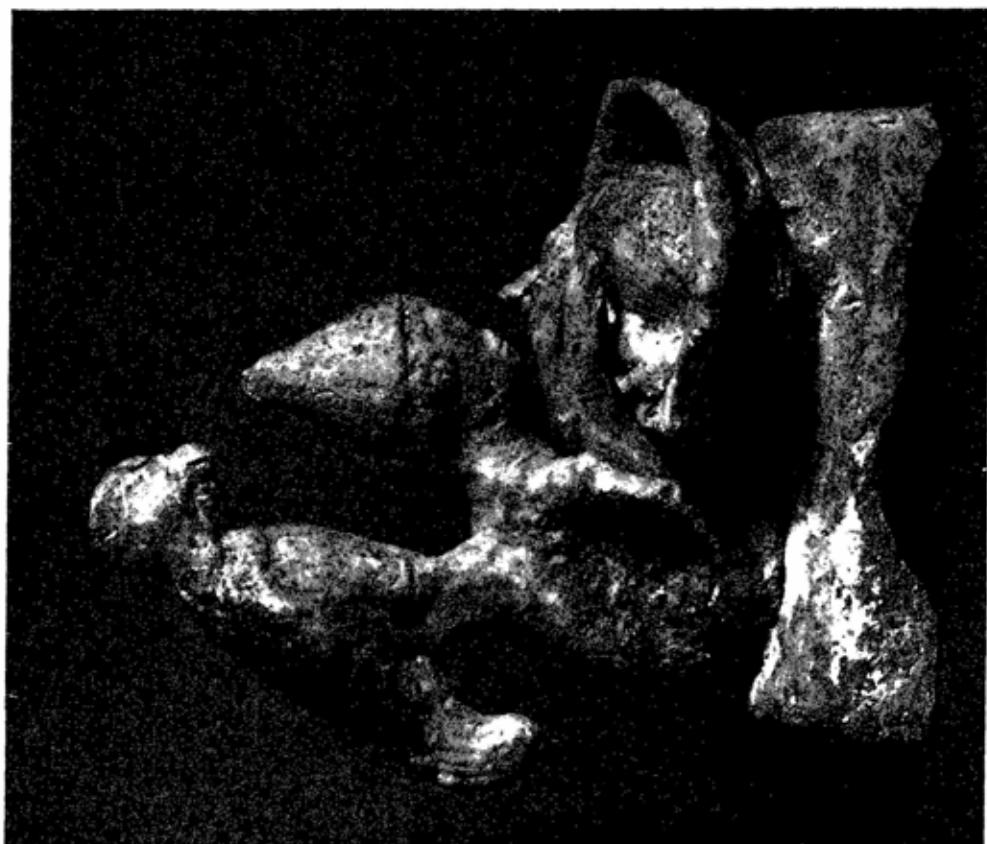




LIII. GREEK TERRACOTTA FIGURE



*b*



*a*

LIV GREEK TERRACOTTA GROUP



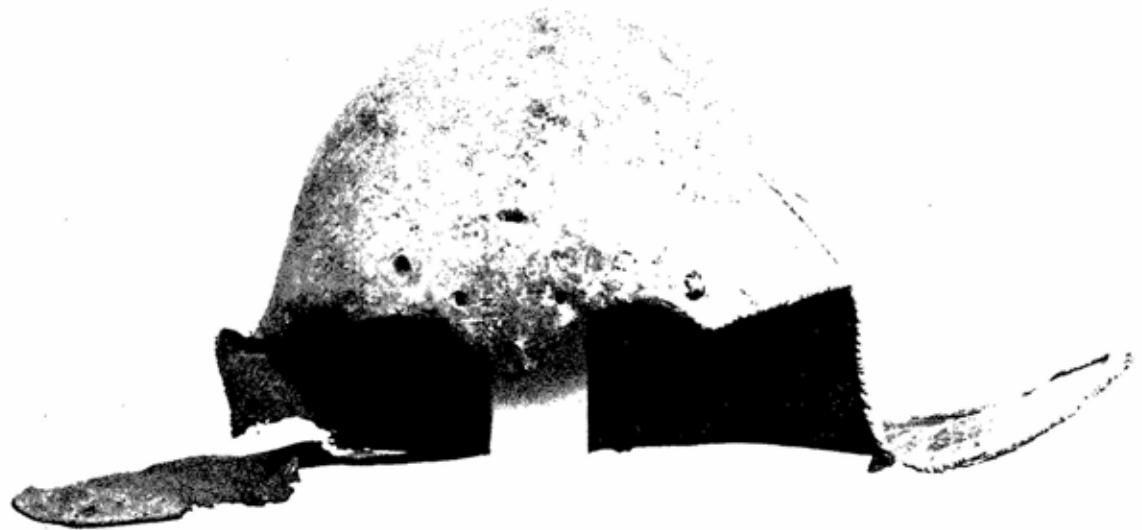
LV. HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN TERRACOTTAS



a

b

LVI. ROMAN TERRACOTTA FIGURE



a



b

LVII. THE HAWKEDON HELMET. (a) Front. (b) Back



LVIII. THE HAWKEDON HELMET. Side views



*a*



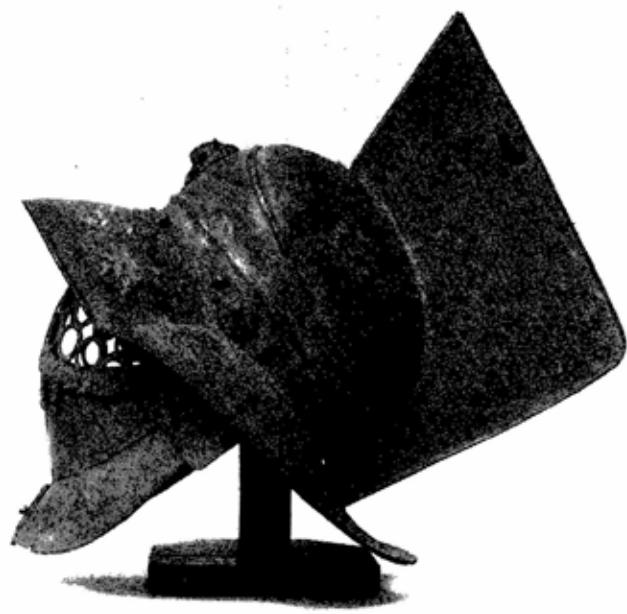
*b*

LIX. THE HAWKEDON HELMET, from above. (a) Front and side. (b) Back and side



LX. THE HAWKEDON HELMET.

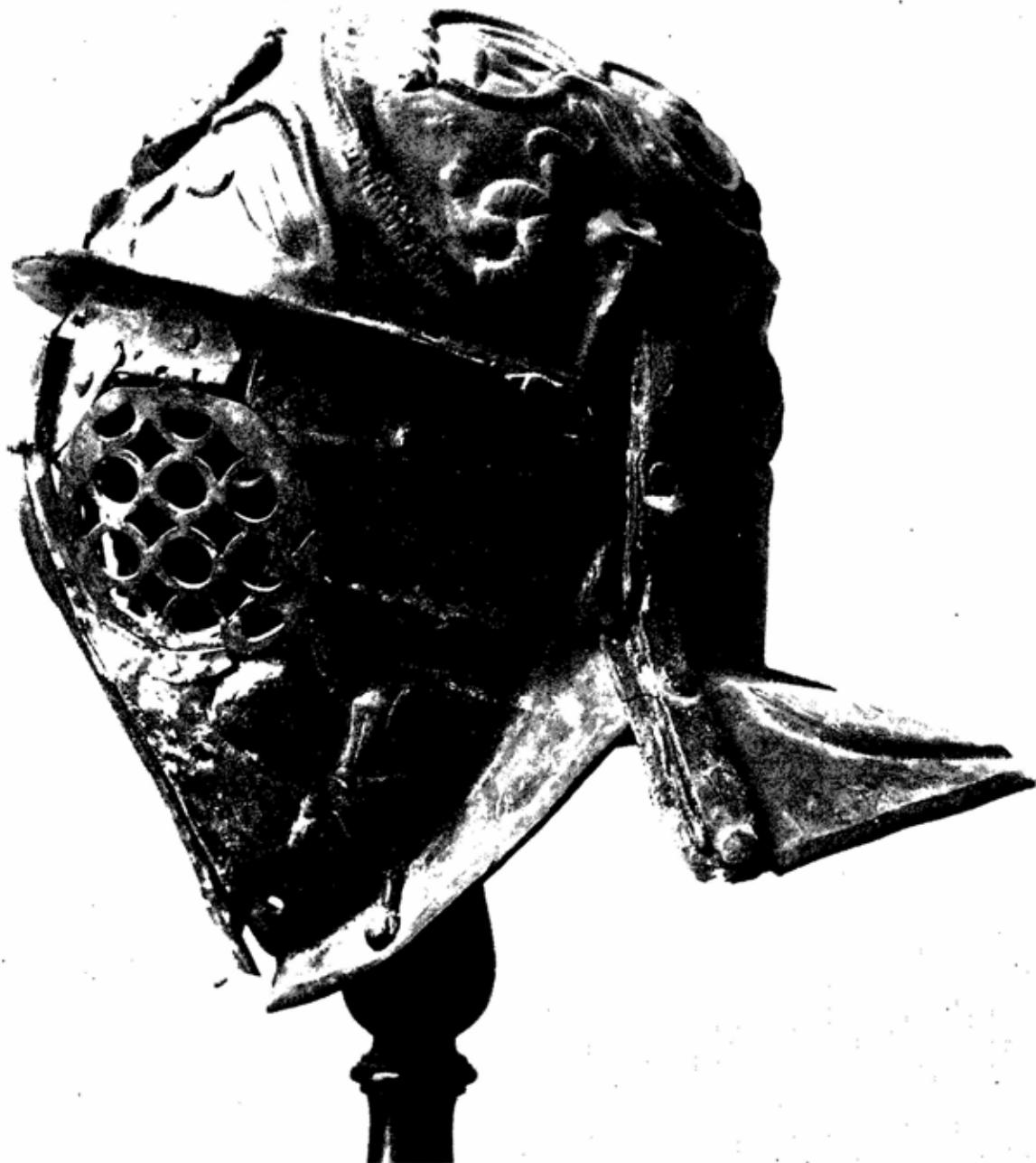
(a) Detail of front. (b) Detail of maker's stamp on upper surface of back of neck-guard



LXI. GLADIATORIAL HELMET IN DEPARTMENT OF GREEK AND ROMAN  
ANTIQUITIES



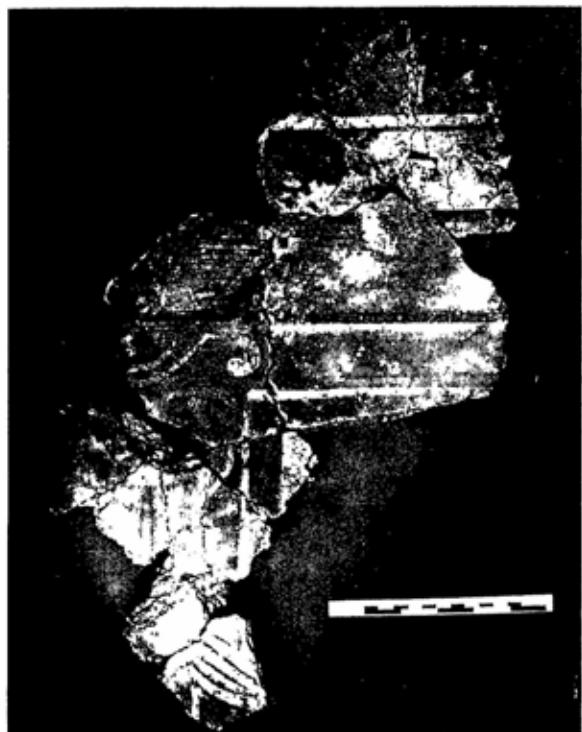
LXII. GLADIATORIAL HELMET FROM POMPEII. Now in the National Museum, Naples  
(Photo: The Mansell Collection)



LXIII. GLADIATORIAL HELMET FROM POMPEII. Now in the National Museum, Naples  
(Photo: The Mansell Collection)



LXIV. GLADIATORIAL HELMET FROM POMPEII. Now in the National Museum, Naples  
(Photo: The Mansell Collection)



a



b

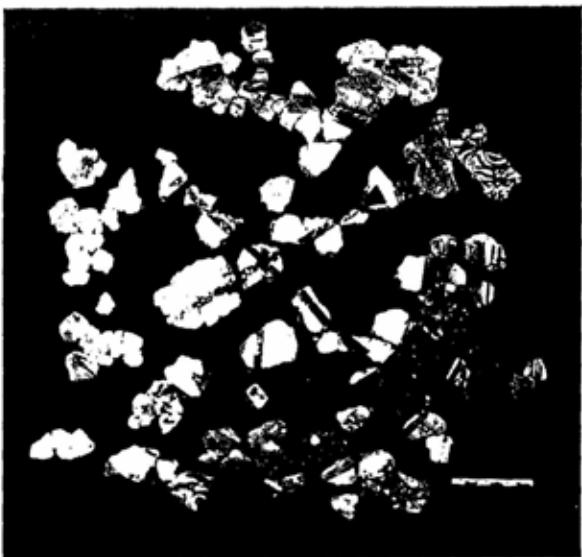


(c)



d

LXV. THE LULLINGSTONE WALL-PLASTER



a



b



c



d

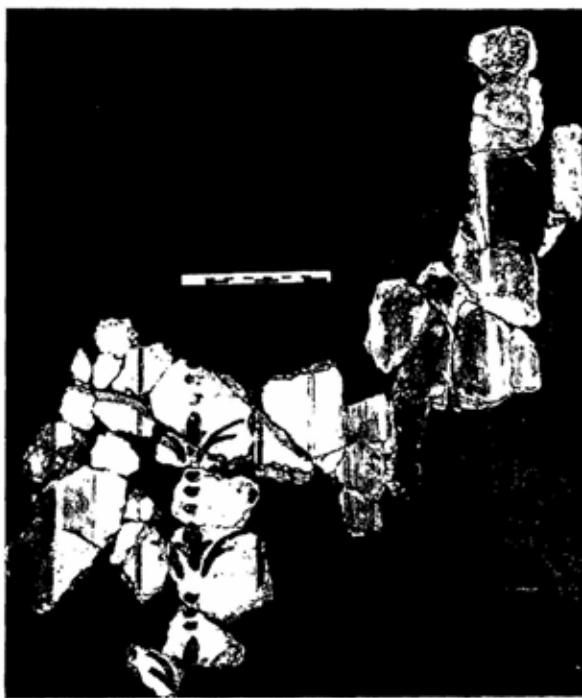
LXVI. THE LULLINGSTONE WALL-PLASTER



a



b



c



d

LXVII. THE LULLINGSTONE WALL-PLASTER



a

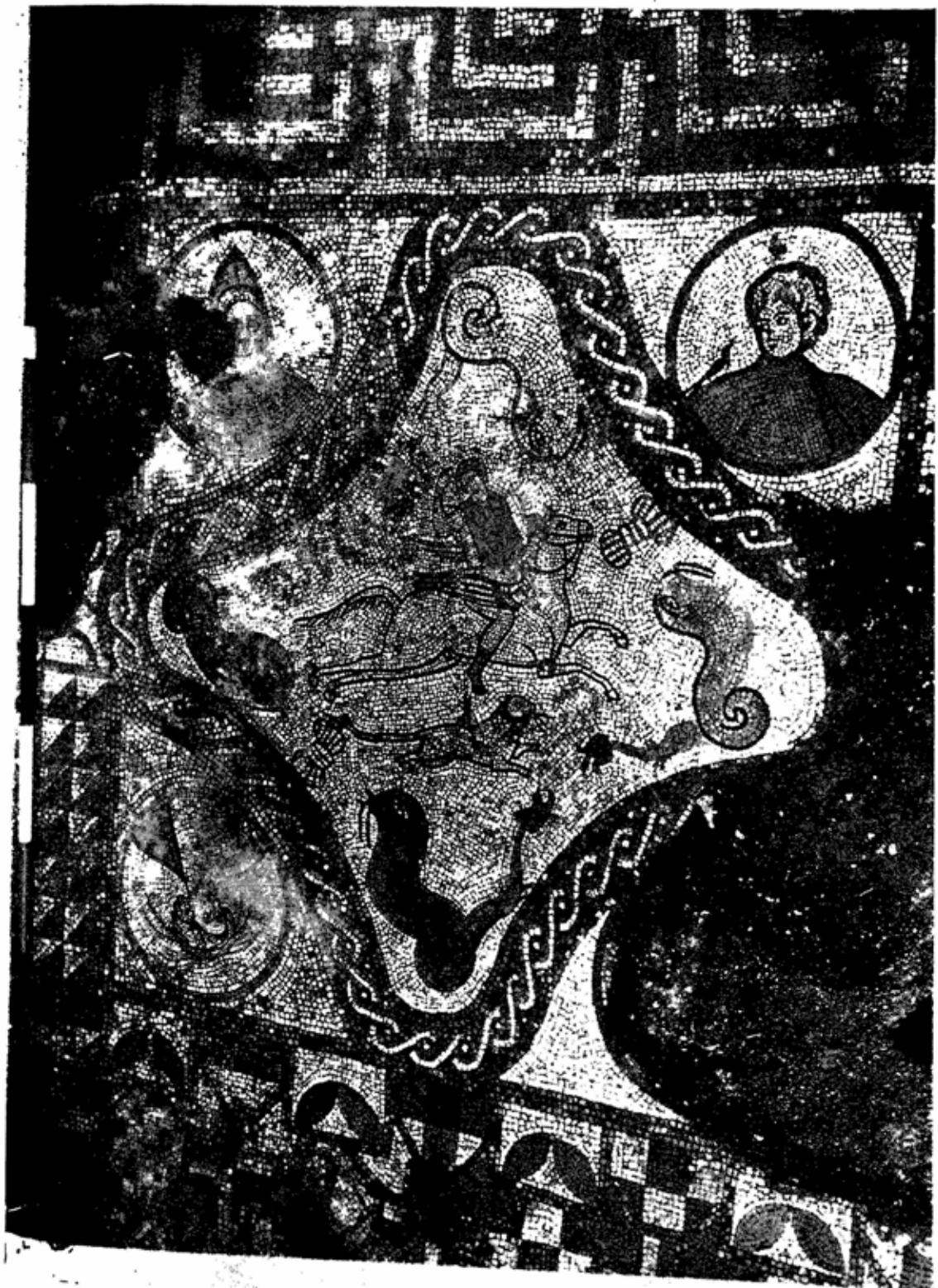


b

#### LXVIII. LULLINGSTONE

(a) General view of mosaic in dining room. (b) Europa and the bull

(Photos: M. B. Cookson)



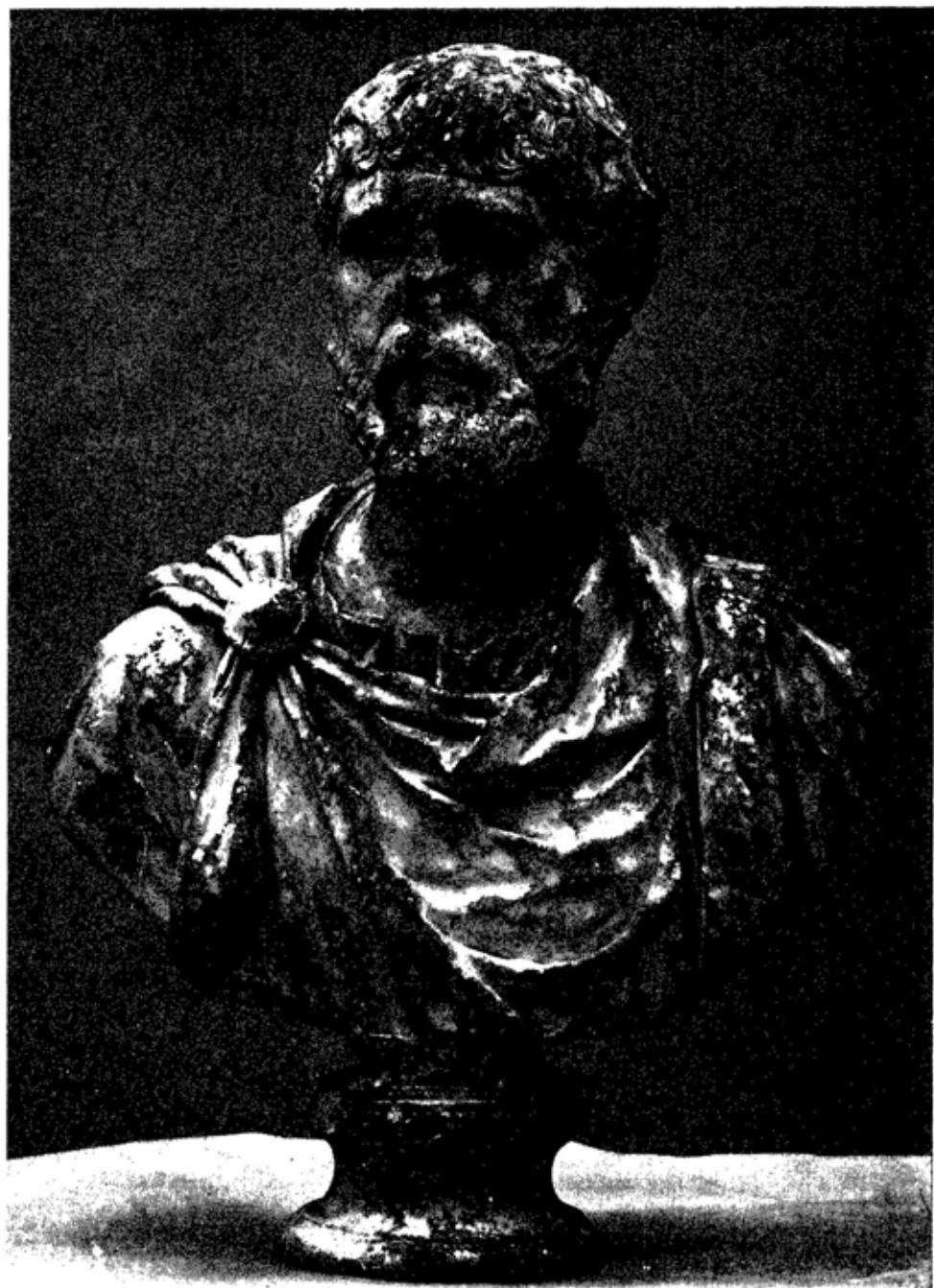
LXIX. LULLINGSTONE

Mosaic. Bellerophon on Pegasus, and the Chimaera, with the Four Seasons in the corners

(Photo: M. B. Cookson)



LXX. LULLINGSTONE  
Mosaic. Bellerophon and the Chimaera  
(Photo: M. B. Goveen)



LXXI. LULLINGSTONE

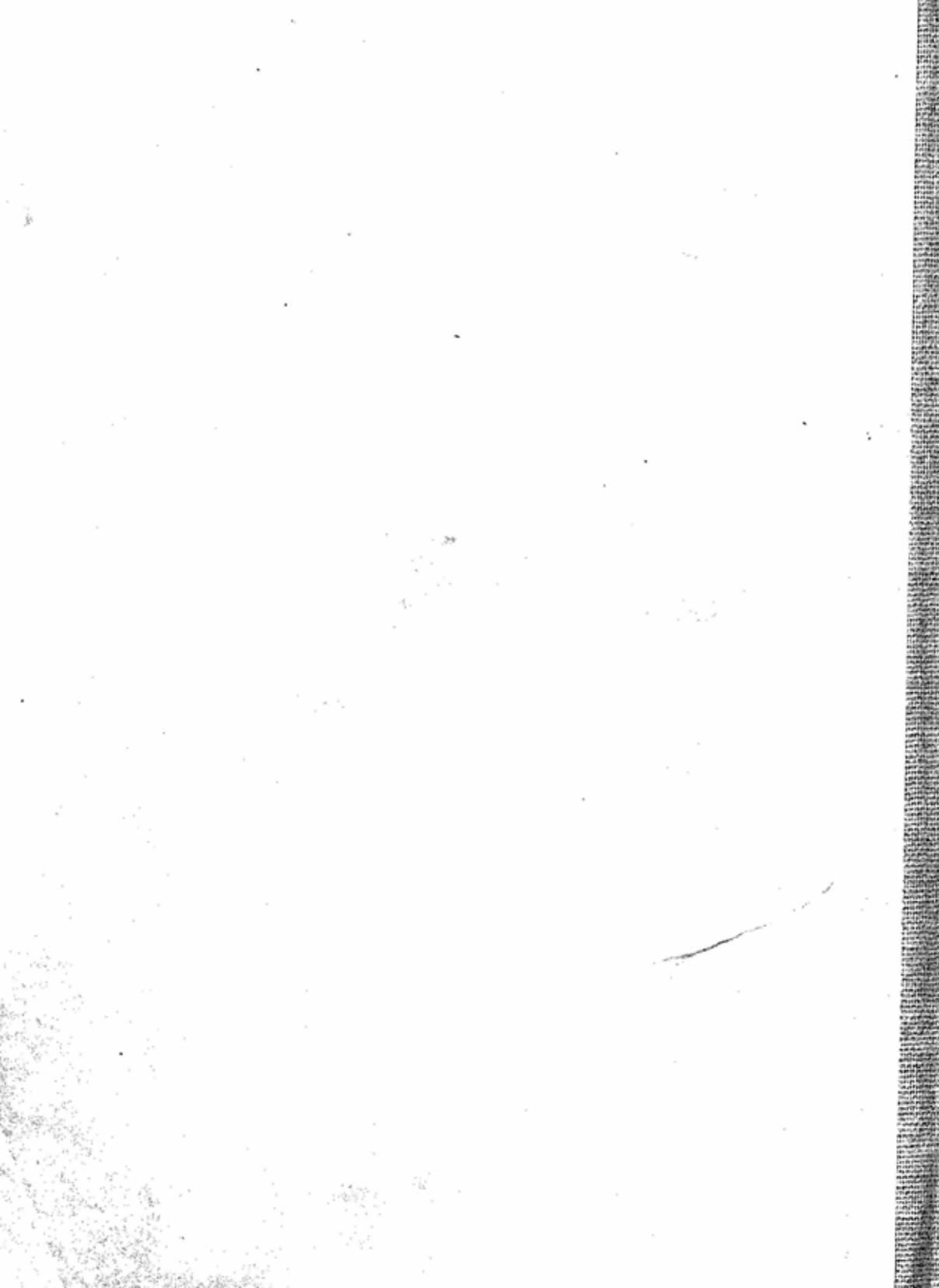
Marble bust. About A.D. 125-135



LXXII. LULLINGSTONE  
Marble bust. About A.D. 155-165



LXXIII. LULLINGSTONE  
Fragments of second marble bust



*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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